A N

ANSWER

TO A

BOOK,

Intituled,

The State of the

PROTESTANTS

I N

IRELAND

Under the Late

King *JAMES*'s Government;

In which,

Their Carriage towards him is Juſtified, and the Abſolute Neceſſity of their endeavouring to be Free'd from his Government, and of Submitting to their preſent Majeſties, is Demonſtrated.

London, Printed in the Year 1692.

UMI

UMI

TO THE

READER.

READER,

I Did not intend to have troubled you with any *Preface*: But this is occaſioned by a Pamphlet lately publiſhed, called, *An Anſwer to* GREAT BRITAIN's JUST COMPLAINT; wherein, *pag.* 54. there is this Character of the Book I have Anſwered, which he calls Dr. *King's*, (whom I have not nam'd, but now may, from the Authority of this Author:) *A Book* (ſays he) *writ with that known Truth, and Firmneſs of Reaſon, that every Page of it is a Demonſtration; which hath been often threatned with an Anſwer: but the long ſilence of the* Party *ſhews* Guilt *and* Deſpair.

For the long ſilence; I muſt tell the Reader, That this Anſwer was prepared upon the firſt coming out of Dr. *King's* Book, (and therefore the Quotations of the Page are according to the firſt Edition of it in *Quarto*;) in the later Editions the Doctor has found cauſe to make ſome Amendment, which I have taken notice of.

That this Anſwer has not before this time appeared in Print, has been occaſioned by the ſevere Watch that is kept over all the Preſſes, which has made many interruptions, and long delays; conſidering which, it is more to be wonder'd at that it has now got through the Briars, than that it has ſtuck ſo long.

This muſt excuſe a Difference you will find in the Paper in ſome Sheets, and other Eye-ſores of the Impreſſion, being done at different Times and Places.

For theſe I ſhall be leſs concern'd, if you will pardon one which was occaſioned by the Importunity and Fears of ſome of the Printers, that is, to call People by their uſual, though not *proper* Names, like the Woman of *Samaria*'s *de Facto* Husband, (*Joh.* iv. 16.) or as *Oliver* was called a *Protector*, and *Abſalom* a *King*.

This Anſwer to *Britain*'s *Complaint*, recites ſome of the groſſeſt Miſtakes of Dr. *King*'s Book, and, from his Credit, delivers them for moſt undoubted Truths: As, pag. 54. *That the Repeal of the Acts of Settlement was carried on by King* James's *own Sollicitation; and that he did ſtruggle with his Biſhops and Judges to carry it; and after he was duly informed of the Cruelty and Injuſtice of it, that he ſtill preſſed it, and at laſt got it paſſed.* The notorious Falſhood of which, I have ſhewn from undeniable and good *Proteſtant* Vouchers; and more are to be had, if either of theſe Authors have the hardineſs not to ſubmit upon that Point.

Pamphlet, pag. 55. *Every where* Proteſtant Churches *were taken from them by Force, and given to* Popiſh Prieſts, *by the Order or Connivance of the late King.*

Which is ſo far from Truth, that Dr. *King* himſelf gives Inſtances to the contrary, and tells (*c.* 3. *ſ.* 18 *n.* 11.) how King *James* did ſtruggle againſt the Popiſh Clergy, in behalf of the *Proteſtants*, and turn'd out the Mayor of *Wexford* for not obeying His Majeſty's Orders in Reſtoring the Proteſtants Church there, which the Popiſh Clergy had uſurp'd; and that *He appear'd moſt zealous to have the Church Reſtored; and expreſt himſelf with more paſſion than was uſual* upon that occaſion.

And Dr. *King* cannot name one *Proteſtant* Church in *Ireland*, that was taken from them either by King *James*'s *Order* or *Connivance*.

His Majeſty was ſo very careful in this Point, that even at *Dublin*, where he kept his Court, neither the *Cathedral*, nor any Pariſh-Church in the whole City was taken from the *Proteſtants*. The King only took *Chriſt-Church* for his own uſe, which was always reputed as the King's Chappel: And Dr. *King* himſelf and others then preached *Paſſive Obedience* in their own Pulpits in *Dublin* to that degree, as to give

give offence to ſome of their Proteſtant Hearers, who thought they ſtretched it even to Flattery.

Pamphlet. *This was done in thoſe parts of* Ireland *where the* Proteſtants *were very peaceable under King* James.

That is, where they were ſo under his Power, that they durſt not ſtir, for none elſe then in that Kingdom were quiet; and even thoſe who lived under King *James*'s Protection were giving Intelligence againſt him, and betraying him all they could; which Dr. *King* does not only *confeſs*, but *juſtifies* it, and was himſelf one of the Chief; which I have ſufficiently ſhewn, and I ſuppoſe he will not deny, but reckons it now as his Merit.

Pamphlet. *Thoſe* (Proteſtants) *who ſtaid in* Ireland, *were oppreſſed*, &c.

But it is evident that they preſerved their Effects, Houſes and Improvements, better than thoſe who left the Kingdom; and now live Richer, and have more to ſhew, which they preſerved by King *James*'s Clemency, than their Neighbours brought with them from the Countries whither they fled from his Protection.

Pamphlet. *Upon Complaint no Proteſtant could have Redreſs.*

I have ſhewn many who had. And I believe Dr. *King* cannot ſhew one who had not (as far as was in the King's Power to grant it.) And that much more than they deſerved at his Hands, by their own Confeſſion at this Day; and many of them do complain that their Grievances have not been ſo well Redreſſed ſince.

And if King *James* can be repreſented by theſe Men as a *Tyrant*, and *a Bloody Perſecutor* while he Courted them, and ſought by all winning Ways to gain them, (which was certainly the Caſe while he was among them in *Ireland*,) it may bring Men into ſuſpence to believe what is told of the *French*, *Hungarian*, or of any other Perſecution.

But I will not Anticipate, what you will find in the following Leaves, to which I refer you. Only I think it neceſſary to acquaint you, That *Pag.* 8. of this Anſwer, upon the Head of *One Prince interpoſing between another Prince and his Subjects when he uſes them Cruelly*, I refer to a Book, which I thought would have been Publiſhed as ſoon

as

as this, and therefore ſaid little to that Point: But now that I ſee no Hopes of its coming out, give me leave to enlarge a little, and tell Dr. *King* what advantage the *Jacobites* make of this Doctrine.

They ſay it would juſtifie King *Lewis*, or any other King to interpoſe between them and King *William*. For they pretend that they are much more Cruelly uſed by King *William*, than even Dr. *King* himſelf ſays the Proteſtants were by King *James*.

In *England* they tell us, That their *Clergy* are *Deprived*, that they are impriſoned without Law, for no other fault than Reading the Liturgy of the Church of *England* in their Houſes.

They complain of Double Taxes, Exceſſive Fines and Bail, and Illegal Impriſonments.

That in *Ireland*, beſides the *Deprivation* of the *Clergy*, all Men and Women who refuſe the *New Oaths* incur a *Premunire*.

That in *Scotland*, they are Fined, Impriſoned, Maſſacred (as *Glen-coe*, &c.) and put to the Torture, againſt the very *Claim of Right* (as *Nevil Pain*, &c.) their *Clergy* Barbarouſly *Rabbled*, and *Epiſcopacy* Aboliſhed.

Though, they ſay, that the Prince of *Orange* in his Declaration to *Scotland*, Dated at the *Hague*, 10. Octob. 88. Promiſes to preſerve their *Church*, as then Eſtabliſhed among them, *From any Alteration*: And makes that the chief End and Deſign of his then intended Expedition.

Then they tell of the many wicked and illegal Courſes, which were taken to overturn the Foundations of *Church* and *State* in that Kingdom.

That when the Meeting of the Eſtates of *Scotland* was called by the Prince of *Orange*'s Circular Letters, in *March* 89. none were ſent to ſeveral *Royal Brughs* in the *North*; which is the moſt *Epiſcopal*, and conſequently the moſt Loyal part of *Scotland*: And therefore ſuch ſent no Repreſentatives.

That at the firſt Meeting of the Eſtates, they refuſed, when it was moved, to adjourn for eight Days, (as they did in *England*,) to give time to the Members from the remote

remote parts of the *North*, to get to *Edenbrugh*: But did precipitate Matters before they came.

That the Oaths required by Law to be taken by all the Members of Parliament, or any Judicature, before they can sit or vote there, were, without Law, laid aside: By which means the *Anti-Monarchical*, and *Fanatical* Party were let into the House.

That several, Noble-men, and Gentle-men, who had been Forefaulted for Treason, and so had no Property, nor Interest in *Scotland*, were admitted as Members of this *Convention*, before their Forfeitures were Rescinded, even by this *Convention*; and so were made the King's Judges, to pass Sentence of Forefaulture against him, for the Injuries which they pretended he had done to them. And that one of these (*viz.* the Earl of *Argyle*) was sent with the tender of the Crown of *Scotland* to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, by Act of Convention, 24 *Apr.* 89. before his Forefaulture was taken off, which was not done till, 1 *Aug.* 89. by the 4*th* Act of the first Session of the first Parliament of *William* and *Mary*.

That by these Means the *Fanatical* Party in that *Convention* were the most Numerous: And framed such a *Committee of Elections*, as for any, or no Cause, turn'd out any Episcopal Member who came in Competition with one of their own.

That by their Act 4 *July* 90. they rescinded all the Forefaultures since the year 1665. and *Monmouth* by name, and *Richard Rumbold* an English-man, who was to have Assassinated King *Charles* II. at *Rye-house*, and in publick Proclamations in *Scotland* was taken notice of as the supposed Executioner of King *Charles* I.

That within this Act of Grace were included all that were concerned in the publick and open Rebellions of *Pentland-hills*, *Bothwell-brig*, *Monmouth*, and *Argyle*; and the very Assassinates of the Lord Archbishop of St. *Andrews* (those *Furies incarnate!*) were all, as many as were alive, enabl'd to be Members of Parliament, and to pass Sentence of Forefaulture against their King.

That King *William* by his additional Instructions to his Commissioner Duke *Hamilton*, dated the 17th of *July* 89.

empowers him to pass Acts for Rescinding all Forefaultures since 1660.

But this exceeded the Modesty even of that Parliament! They would not *expressly* own that no Treason could be committed against K. *C.* 2. or K. *J.* 2. at the same time that they Deprived and Forefaulted so many on the behalf of K. *W.*

That the *Fanatical Mob*, who had Rabbled the *Episcopal* Clergy, were Armed, and made the Guard of that *Convention*, and resolved to sacrifice any who durst oppose their Designs; witness Sir *George Mackenzy*, that great Ornament of his Nation and Profession, who was forced to fly from their Fury, to save his Life, it being made appear they had laid Plots to murder Him and Others. They tore *Episcopal* Ministers Gowns off their backs in the streets of *Edinburgh* where the *Convention* sate, and attacked the Lord Archbishop of *Glasgow* there.

That the Bishops, who are the First of the Three Estates of Parliament, were excluded from sitting in that Parliament, before they were a Parliament, by vertue of Instructions sent from King *William* to his Commissioner Duke *Hamilton*, dated 31 *May* 89. in these words: *You are to pass an Act turning the Meeting of Estates into a Parliament; and that the Three Estates are to consist of the Noblemen, Barons, and Burgesses.* Accordingly the Meeting of Estates wherein the Bishops sate, was turned into a Parliament, 5 *June* 89. the Bishops being first excluded; which the *Jacobites* think a material Objection against the validity of all the Acts of that Parliament, particularly that of 22 *July* 89. abolishing *Prelacy*, and the Act 7 *June* 90. setling *Presbyterian* Church-Government.

Whence the *Jacobite Episcoparians* desire us to take a view of the Methods how their Church was over-turned.

They first tell us, That the major part of *Scotland*, and much the greater part of the Nobility and Gentry, are *Episcopal*; and therefore that *Episcopacy* would carry it in any fair and free Convention of the Estates in *Scotland*.

That several Reasons are given above, why it was not so in the late Convention there.

That

That the *Presbyterian* Managers did instigate and set on their Rabble to fall upon the Episcopal Clergy, and drive them by violence from their Churches; and that the Presbyterian Ministers who had preached in those Parishes by a Toleration from King *James*, should take possession of them before the Meeting of the Estates, where they would endeavour to excuse the Rabble, and continue the Possession; and likewise make use of this as an Argument, That *Episcopacy* was contrary to the *inclinations of the people.*

That the *Rabbling* began in *December* 88. and to make way for it, a Report was industriously spread abroad (as in *England*) That some Thousands of *Irish* were landed in *Galloway*, and marching forward with Fire and Sword: Upon which, the *Fanaticks* took Arms, and fell upon the *Episcopal* Clergy with a Violence that is hardly credible.

That they drove them from their Churches, plundered their Houses, assaulted their Persons, pricking some with Bodkins, *&c.* till they have gone distracted; in which miserable condition a Gentleman told me he met an old Companion of his at the College, an Episcopal Clergyman, who had been thus served by that Rabble.

That they turned the Wives and Children of the Episcopal Clergy out of their Houses, to shift as they could; upon which many of their Children dy'd, and their Wives miscarried. A *Presbyterian* (but who abhorr'd the Brutality of these Proceedings) told me, that he was at the Rabbling at *Air*, and saw an Episcopal Minister's Wife, who had been but three or four days delivered, turned out with her Children into the Streets, and all People shut their Doors upon them, insomuch that this Gentleman, mov'd with so lamentable a Spectacle, bestirr'd himself in Compassion to them; and that it was Eleven at Night before he could get a poor Cabbin to give them shelter.

That they used to lead the Ministers about in Triumph, tearing their Gowns, which they called *the Rags of the Whore*; and burning the *Book of Common Prayer* wherever they could find it, calling it *the Mass in English.*

This was the *Western Fanatick Rabble*, who began their Work upon *Christmas Day*, to be witty in their Malice.

That

That at *Edinburgh* it ſelf the Tumult was ſo high, that the *Mob* forced the King's Palace, rifled the Chancellor's Lodgings, gutted the Chappel (deſigned for the Order of the Knights of St. *Andrew*) carried the King's Picture to the Mercat-Croſs, and there publickly ſtabb'd and tore it, with the like Indignities as ſome ungrateful and bruitiſh Villains expreſs'd, in the rancor of their Hearts, againſt the King's Statue at *Newcaſtle* and *Gloceſter*.

That upon theſe violent Diſorders, the King being gone from *England*, and no ſettled Government in the Nation, the *College of Juſtice* at *Edinburgh* took Arms, and kept Watch and Ward, to ſecure the Peace of the City, and their *Clergy* from being *Rabbled*.

That then a Proclamation came from the Prince of *Orange*, commanding all perſons to lay down their Arms; That the *College of Juſtice* did thereupon lay down their Arms; but the *Fanaticks* did not, for they ſaid, that they knew the Order was not intended againſt them; and they proceeded to greater Inſults againſt the *Epiſcopal Clergy*, and fell upon thoſe they had not medled with before, and a Tumult was raiſed at *Glaſgow*; and thoſe of the *Rabbled Clergy* who thought themſelves protected by the Prince's Proclamation, and thereupon returned to their Churches and Livings, were much more rudely treated than before; and particular Favours were granted to the Town of *Glaſgow*, by 15 Act of 2 Seſſ. of 1 Parl. of *W.* and *M.* for the *Zeal of the Community of the ſaid City* (who were the principal Rabblers) *for the Proteſtant Religion*, as it is expreſſed in the Act.

That the Rabbled Clergy made application to the P. of *O.* for Protection from this Outrage, and ſent Dr. *Scot*, Dean of *Glaſgow*; who, aſſiſted by Dr. *Fall*, Principal of the College of *Glaſgow*, did repreſent their deplorable Condition to his Highneſs; who gave them no other Anſwer than to refer them to the *Meeting of the Eſtates*, which did not aſſemble till 14 *March* following.

That they, ſuffering unſpeakable Hardſhips and Indignities all that time, from *December* to *March*, made the ſame Requeſt for Protection from the Rabble to the *Meeting of Eſtates* then convened. In anſwer to which,

That

That the *Meeting of Eſtates*, by their Act 13 *Apr.* 89. excluded from the Protection of the Goverument all the Miniſters who had been Rabbled before that day, and were not then in Poſſeſſion of their Churches: And being turned into a *Parliament*, by their Act 7 *June* 90. declared, That theſe Rabbled Miniſters had Deſerted their Churches; and therefore adjudged them to be *Vacant*, and ordered thoſe Presbyterian Miniſters who, without any Law, had taken poſſeſſion of them when the Incumbents were driven away by the Rabble, *to continue their poſſeſſion, and have Right to the Benefices and Stipends, according to their entry in the Year* 89. *viz.* when the Incumbents were Rabbled. And to this, being an Act of Parliament, the Royal Aſſent was given.

That theſe Miniſters Rabbled before 13 *Apr.* 89. and for that only reaſon declared to have *abdicated* by the Parliament, were about 300.

That the foreſaid Act 13 *Apr.* 89. obliged all that remained to Pray for K. *W.* and Q. *M.* as King and Queen of *Scotland*, and read a Proclamation publickly from their Pulpits againſt the owning of King *James*.

And that they might not have too long time to conſider of it, it was to be read, under pain of *Deprivation*, the next day, *viz.* 14 *Apr.* 89. by all the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, the 21ſt by all on that ſide the River *Tay*, on the 28th by all be-north *Tay*, which was hardly time to have the Proclamation tranſmitted to them all. At *Edinburgh* the Proclamation came not from the Preſs till late on *Saturday* night, and it was to be read at Morning-Service next day: ſo that many of them, it is ſuppoſed, had not an hours time to reſolve.

That this ſevere Act was more ſeverely executed by the Earl of *Crawford*, then Preſident of the Council, and other *Presbyterian* Lords; and that near as many were turn'd out by the *Rabble within doors*, as the *Field-Rabble* had done.

That Matters being thus prepared for the total Abolition of *Epiſcopacy*, all haſte was made to do it: An Act was framed for that purpoſe, and Inſtructions were ſent to the Commiſſioner in theſe words: *You are to Touch the Act already paſſed*, Aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, *as ſoon as you can*; *and*

to Reſcind all Acts inconſiſtent therewith; That the haſte required was obſerved, for theſe Inſtructions were ſigned by King *William* at *Whitehall* the 17th of *July* 89. and the Act was Touched at *Edinburgh* the 22d of the ſame month.

Thus fell Epiſcopacy *in* Scotland! Two Months and eleven Days after King *William* and Queen *Mary* took upon them the Crown of that Kingdom, which was the *eleventh* of *May* 89.

That thoſe Presbyterian Miniſters, who were ejected by Law, *Anno* 1662. upon the Reſtoration of *Epiſcopacy*, were reſtored to the *Churches* they had before, by Act of this Parliament, 25 *April* 90. without any Proviſion made for thoſe who were ejected.

That they did not pretend to that Regard to any who ſhould be Deprived, as the Parliament of *England* ſeemed to do, by allowing *Twelve* of the *Clergy* who ſhould refuſe the Oaths, the Third of their Biſhopricks or Livings during their Life; and left it to K. *W.* to apply it to which *Twelve* of them he thought fit: But that he has applied it to none, leſt they ſhould fare better than their Deprived Brethren in *Scotland*.

That not only thoſe Presbyterian Miniſters who were outed by the Biſhops, *Anno* 1662. but even thoſe who had been Depoſed and put under Cenſure as Incendiaries and wicked Men, *by their own Presbyterian Synods*, Anno 1660, and 1661. without being releaſed from thoſe Cenſures by any Synod, or Eccleſiaſtical Authority of their own, were Reſtored *Anno* 1690. by Act of Parliament.

That theſe, as being moſt violent, were moſt eſteem'd: and one of them, Mr. *Hugh Kennedy*, was made Moderator of the General Aſſembly, *Anno* 1690. while he lay under the Cenſure of their own *Kirk*, which was not taken off till the end of that ſame Aſſembly. That thus their *Church* was eſtabliſhed by Men thruſt out of their *Church*, as the *State* by Men Forefaulted by the *State*.

That by Act of their Parliament, 7 *June* 90. *Setling Presbyterian Church Government*, the whole Church-Government and Authority is placed in the hands of thoſe Presbyterian Miniſters outed ſince the firſt of *January* 1661. (who were not then above Fifty or Sixty in number), and ſuch

as

as they ſhould admit, excluſive of all other Presbyters; which was a greater Superiority ſettled in one Presbyter above another, than that which they Aboliſhed in the Biſhops as an *inſupportable Grievance*. And theſe new-modell'd Presbyters, inveſted with Epiſcopal Power, in Oppoſition to Epiſcopacy, did exerciſe it with a Tyranny and Lordlineſs the Biſhops had never ſhewn: For, being by a particular Clauſe in that Act enabled, by themſelves, or whom they ſhould appoint, *to try and purge out all inſufficient, negligent, ſcandalous and erroneous Miniſters*, they erected Tribunals in every Presbytery, as *arbitrary*, but more *ſenſeleſs*, than the *Inquiſition*; and did but one good Act, to purge out thoſe Epiſcopal Presbyters, who complied with their *Schiſm* and *Uſurpation*; for which they could never want a pretence, becauſe *Ordination* or *Collation* from *Prelates* was always made one Article in their Viſitations, and thought *erroneous* enough to ſpew any out of their Churches.

But as to theſe Deprived Clergy, I muſt here take notice of a diſtinction much uſed in *England* to mollifie *Lay-Deprivations*; viz. That the Biſhops and Clergy Deprived by *Act of Parliament* loſe not their Character, only are barr'd by the *Secular Power* to exerciſe it in ſuch Diſtricts.

But Act 35. of Seſſ. 2. of the firſt Parliament of *William* and *Mary* in *Scotland*, thoſe Miniſters who did not Pray for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and were therefore Depriv'd, were afterwards prohibited to *preach or exerciſe any part of the Miniſterial Function, either in Churches, or elſewhere, upon any pretext whatſoever.*

And in the 38th Act of the ſame Seſſion, they do as much confound our State-diſtinction of *de Facto* and *de Jure*; which, they ſay, is *cunningly of late ſpread abroad, to weaken and invalidate the Allegiance ſworn to their Majeſties*; And therefore they order a Certificate to be ſubſcrib'd by all who take the Oath, declaring K. *W.* and Q. *M.* to be King and Queen as well *de Jure* as *de Facto*.

And they ſay, That in all theſe things they have dealt more frankly and plainly, if not more honeſtly and ſincerely, than we have done in *England*.

They

They think it more fair and open Dealing, plainly to *Foreſtall* the King for *Male-adminiſtration*, than to *Abdicate* him for flying to ſave his Life.

And when he is gone, that he ſhould not take the *Right* to the Crown along with him, and leave K. *W.* nothing but a *de Facto* Poſſeſſion; which they think a Betraying K. *W.* to the laſt Degree, and making him no better than an *Uſurper*.

They think it the ſame thing to debar Clergy-men from the Exerciſe of the Miniſterial Function, as to leave them no Place to exerciſe it in.

And as Charitable to allow nothing to the *Depriv'd*, as to name ſomething for them, and put it into Hands where they are ſure never to come by it.

But I know not ſo well how they'll ſolve that Contradiction, which ſeems to be betwixt their *Claim of Right*, 11 Ap. 89. and their *Confeſſion of Faith*, Ratified and Eſtabliſhed, Act 5. of 2 Seſſ. 1 Parl. *William* and *Mary*. Read over in their Preſence, and inſerted *Verbatim* in the Body of the Act.

The Claim of Right begins in theſe Words, *Whereas King* James, *being a profeſt* Papiſt, *did aſſume the Regal Power*, &c. And the firſt of their Claims is in theſe Words,

That by the Law of this Kingdom no Papiſt *can be King or Queen of this Realm.*

And yet in the aboveſaid *Confeſſion of Faith*, Chap. 23. It is Decreed and Eſtabliſhed as the true Chriſtian Doctrine, in theſe Words, *viz.* "*Infidelity or Difference in Religion doth not make void the Magiſtrates juſt and legal Authority, nor free the People from their due Obedience to him.*

But I muſt not exceed the bounds of a Preface. For if I ſhould only Name all the Hardſhips and Oppreſſions, the illegal and arbitrary Proceedings of which the *Jacobites* complain of in *Scotland*, & ſay they are ready to make good by undeniable Vouchers, I ſhould ſwell this beyond the Bulk of Dr. *King*'s Book; and that the *Truths* of the Proceedings in *Scotland*, would, if poſſible, out-number the *Falſhoods* he relates of *Ireland*.

But for a fuller Account of theſe *Scots* Affairs, I refer you to a ſmall Tract, called, *A Letter to a Friend, giving*

an

an Account of all the Treatises that have been Publish'd with Relation to the present Perſecution *againſt the Church of* Scotland. Printed for *Jo. Hindmarſh.* Among theſe, as to the *State* Affairs, be pleaſed to conſult that Tract, called, *The late Proceedings and Votes of the Parliament of* Scotland, *contained in an Addreſs delivered to the King*

And for the Affairs of the *Church*, *An Account of the preſent Perſecution of the Church of* Scotland, *in ſeveral Letters. The Caſe of the preſent Afflicted Clergy of* Scotland. *The Hiſtorical Relation of the late General Aſſembly held at* Edinburgh. And the *Preſbyterian Inquiſition.*

And there you will find ſuch Cruelties uſed towards the *Loyal* and *Epiſcopal* Party in *Scotland*, as were unheard of in *Ireland*, and by Dr. *King's* Principles, would juſtifie *any Foreign Prince to interpoſe on their behalf:* And if it be true which he lays down as the Foundation, upon which he builds all that he ſays in his Book; *viz. That if a King deſign to deſtroy one main Part of his People, in favour of another whom he loves better, he does Abdicate the Government of thoſe whom he deſigns to deſtroy, contrary to Juſtice and the Laws.* If this be true, the *Epiſcopal* Party in *Scotland* think it would free them from all Obligation to K. *William's* Government: But how far it is Applicable to the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, to juſtifie their Carriage towards King *James* will be ſeen in what follows.

Suppoſe, ſay they, it were true which Dr. *King* aſſerts, as it is moſt falſe, That K. *James* while he was in *Ireland*, did endeavour totally to overthrow the Church Eſtabliſhed by Law there, and ſet up that which was moſt agreeable to the Inclinations of the major Number of the People in that Kingdom, who are *Roman Catholicks.* The *Jacobites* ask if this were ſo, Whether it be not fully vindicated in the 4th Inſtruction of thoſe which King *William* ſent to his Commiſſioner in *Scotland*, dated at *Copt-Hall*, 31 May 89. in theſe Words? *You are to paſs an Act, Eſtabliſhing that Church Government which is moſt agreeable to the Inclinations of the People.*

By which Rule they ſay, That it was as juſt to ſet up *Popery* in *Ireland*, as *Preſbytery* in *Scotland*: And that the Law was not more againſt the one in *Ireland*, than againſt

the other in *Scotland*. That the Parliament in *Ireland* was liable to less Exception than that in *Scotland*: The one called in the usual Form, by Writs from their *Natural* King to whom they had Sworn; the other by Circular Letters from a *Foreign* Prince, to whom they ow'd no Obedience; who could not, nor did pretend any other Authority over them, or Right to the Crown, besides *The Inclinations of the People*. Which therefore they say, in return for their Kindness, he has made the Standard for *Church Government*, as well as the Government of the *State*.

That it is only *alleged* that King *James intended* to do in *Ireland*, what he did not do, when it was in his Power, and what King *William* actually did in *Scotland*; *viz.* To overturn the *Church* then by Law Established. Though King *James* had truly the Argument of the *Inclinations of the People*, *i. e.* of the major Part in *Ireland*, which was but a Pretence, and falsly Collected in *Scotland*, from the *Fanatick Rabble* being let loose, and encouraged to act all outrage upon the *Episcopal Clergy*.

That the Argument is carry'd in Dr. *King*'s Book, and many Pamphlets grafted upon it, that the Church of *England* ought to expect from K. *J.* the like Treatment which they pretend the Church of *Ireland* met with from him, and his *Popish* Parliament: But yet have no apprehensions from what K. *William* has done to the Church of *Scotland*, which he and a *Presbyterian Convention* have pluckt up by the Roots, tho' living peaceably and offending no Man, while K. *James* and the *Popish* Parliament left the Church of *Ireland* Established by Law, when all her Members, to a very small Number, were actually in Arms against him, in as Universal a Rebellion, they say, as ever was heard of in any Nation, wherein there are fewer Exceptions, than of Loyal *Irish* in 41.

Many other things the *Jacobites* do plead, with which I will not detain the Reader; they have made large Apologies for themselves, and Dr. *King*'s Book will afford them Matter for more.

I know not if it will be needful to advertise the Reader, That he will meet with several Expressions and Arguments, which I use only *ad hominem*, following Dr. *King*'s Phrase and Logick; and not to mistake them for my own Sense,

will or

or Approbation of his Principles, or Characters which he gives. As *pag.* 33. *paragr.* 5. and elſewhere. And *p.* 191. where I take notice of his Compariſon betwixt King *James* and the *French* King, and according to his Repreſentation of them, I ask, *Whether any would have King* James *to be worſe than the* French *King*? That is, than that Character with which ſome take Pains to blacken the *French Monarch*: But we know now what ſtreſs is to be laid upon their Repreſentations, by the many falſe and malicious Slanders which they have ſpread abroad, and vouch'd with as much Confidence, of their own King, and of Matters done within our own Country.

It is not juſt to frame an Idea of any Man, by that Repreſentation of him which is given by his Enemy.

And yet no King that ever was in the World has had his Praiſes ſung to a greater pitch by the moſt flattering Poet, than the *French King*'s moſt bitter Enemies have extalled him, even while they were ſpitting Venom at him.

A Prince, ſays the Mighty *Cant.* in his laſt Thankſgiving-Sermon before K. *W.* and Q. *M.* 27 *Octob.* 92. who governs his Affairs *by the deepeſt and the ſteadieſt Councils, and the moſt refin'd Wiſdom of this World*! *A Prince Mighty and Powerful in his Preparations for War*; *Formidable for his vaſt and well-diſciplin'd Armies, and for his great Naval Force*; *and who hath brought the Art of War almoſt to that Perfection, as to be able to Conquer, and do his Buſineſs without Fighting*: *A Myſtery hardly known to former Ages and Generations*! And laſtly, that he has *an almoſt-inexhauſtible Treaſure and Revenue.*

Perhaps he ſaid all this with a Proſpect of ſtanding him in ſtead another day.

What *Roman Cæſar*'s Greatneſs, or God-like Power and Wiſdom, was ever ſet out in a higher ſtrain than this? Nay, he makes the *French Cæſar* exceed in the *Art of War* all former Ages and Generations.

And for his *Civil Government* within his own Kingdom, ſuppreſſing and effectually curing *Duels*, *Robberies*, and other publick Vices which were moſt rooted in *France* for immemorial Generations, it is the Amazement and envy'd Pattern of his Neighbor-Nations, and really the greateſt and moſt noble of all his Victories.

How

How does every one that comes over tell us, That Travellers may carry Gold open through all *France*, without danger of any Robbers? But as soon as you set your foot upon *Spanish Flanders*, you must prepare to fight your way, to be Robb'd, or Murder'd. And in *England* we all too well know, that none now are secure, neither on the High-way, nor in their Houses, from Thieves and Robbers.

There is one Objection against this Great King, which makes it an Offence to many to hear any thing, though Truth, spoken to his Advantage; and that is, Banishing the *Hugonot* Ministers, and *Dragooning* others, to work them into another Religion; which does, and justly, eclipse his Glory, with those who know not the true Grounds and Motives which induc'd him to Methods so rigid and severe.

But his very Enemies, who know the Reasons he had for it, do even in this Excuse him, and turn it into an Argument of his wise Foresight and Prudence. They tell you that he was under an invincible Necessity of being rid of these Men, or hazarding such a Revolution as befel King *James*. That *he knew they would endanger him by a Revolt, if he were Invaded by a Protestant Prince*: Which are the very Words of the Answer to *Great Britain's Just Complaint*, pag. 47. That their *Refugees* here do generally all own the Principle of *Resistance*. And that their *Ministers* march'd, last Campaign, before the Army into *Dauphine*, Preaching to the People as they went the lawfulness of taking Arms against their King. This is a plain Demonstration what the Answer to *Britain's Complaint* has told us.

The French King being thus vindicated by his Enemies in that which was most colourably Objected against him, and which, if not done upon the abovesaid Motives, would leave him inexcusable. The *Jacobites* think themselves for ever oblig'd to acknowlege with all Gratefulness the Noble and Generous Reception he has given to King *James* in his Distress, which as no King in *Europe* was able to have done but Himself; so none but he could have done it in such a manner, with that Greatness, and every Punctilio of Honor; which if all the particulars were repeated, would fill a Volume, and is such an *Original* as is not to be found

found in former Ages, and will be Recorded in History, as the most glorious Scene of his Life: And that if he perfect what he has so Heroically undertaken, the *Jacobites* say, he will not find readier Trumpeters of his Glory than the present Complying *Divines, late of the Church of England.*

They would in the Day returne their old Theams, with which their Pulpits us'd to ring, but are now forgotten, of the Persecutions of the *Protestants* by those *Popish* Princes, who are now in *Confederacy* with *England* against *France.* They would then tell us of the declar'd Principle of the House of *Austria*, not to suffer any *Protestants*, whom they call *Heretics*, to live within their Dominions: And pursuant to that, have Erected the *Spanish Inquisition*, which occasioned the great Revolution in the *Netherlands*: They would set out likewise, in their Colours, the many Persecutions of the Protestants in *Bohemia*, *Hungary* and *Transilvania*, and the long Persecutions in *Piedmont* by the Dukes of *Savoy*; and that by this present Duke. They would then inform us, That all these Persecutors were more *Popish* and *Bigot*, than the *French* King; and their Persecutions were done *ourselves*, not having such pressing Reason of State, as that which is above told for the *French* King's dealing with the *Hugonots*; and yet that their Persecutions were much more grievous. The *French* King only Banished the *Hugonot Ministers*: the present *Emperor* sent to the *Gallies* all the *Protestant Ministers* of *Hungary*, whom he could seize. They would then too preach it aloud who they were who occasioned the Martyrdom of 40000 *Christians* in *Japan*, and now engross that Trade by denying their own Christianity.

All this, and more, we should hear, if such a turn came, from these Versatile Trimming-Court-Divines: Or wherever they judg'd it to comply with their Interest.

Their Carriage in this Revolution, has given greater occasion to the Enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, and turn'd more Men from the Church of *England* to the Church of *Rome*, and even to *Atheism*, has overturned, ruined, divided and dishonored our Church more than if that Persecution which some feard, or pretended, had fallen upon 'em. How did the very apprehension of it unite the *Protestants* all

over the three Kingdoms, and fill their Hearts with greater aversion to *Popery*? And none believe it would have Eradicated the established *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*, nor shaken it in *England*, so much as is now done by the present *Schism*. No, say the *Jacobites*, it would have Rooted and Confirmed it, the more the *Jesuit* Councils should endeavour to destroy it; for, as Dr. *King* used to say, *Persecution* never hurts *Religion*, but *Rebellion* destroys it: And he once said, he *it would be a glorious Sight*, (to use his own Phrase) *to see a Cart full of Clergy men going to the Stake*, for asserting the Principles of their Religion.

How much more glorious indeed, than to see them Recanting and Preaching down their former Principles, and Proclaiming it out of their own Mouths, that they have been *false Teachers* all their Days before this Turn; or otherwise that they are so now, to serve a Turn! Thus have they fulfilled upon themselves what Dr. *B—t* told us in Print *Father Peters* threatned, but was not able to effect, *viz.* to make them *eat their own Dung*.

It is in the Power of none to ruin the Church of *England*, while it remains true to its self.

I have done, when I have desired the Reader not to think, that I am insensible of several ill Steps, which were made in the Administration of Affairs under the Government of K. *J.* Nor do I design to lessen them, or make other Apology for them, than by doing him this Justice to tell what the *Jacobites* offer to prove, and make it Notorious; *viz.* That the greatest Blots in his Government were hit by those who made them, with design to ruin him, and now boast it as their Merit, and are Rewarded for it.

And though Dr *King* represents him to be of so Tyrannical and Implacable a Temper towards the *Protestants*; yet that it is now publickly known that the fatal Measures he took, were advised, and often pressed, beyond, and against his Majesty's Inclinations and Opinion, by those *Protestants*, whom his unexampled and even faulty Clemency had not only Pardoned, for all their bitter Virulency in opposing his Succession, but brought them into his most secret Councils, and acted by their Advice.

This was the Burden of the Charge laid against him

in

in the P. of O's Declaration; *viz.* Employing such Ministers, and acting by their Advice: And though our Law says, *That the King can do no wrong*, and therefore that his *Ministers* only are accountable; yet, as Mr. *Sam. Johnson* has laid it open, that we have liv'd to see the *King* only Punish'd, and those *Ministers* Rewarded, and still employ'd: and the many Grievances complain'd of in their Administration under K. *J.* are, by the present *Discomented*, said to be continu'd and doubl'd upon us now.

FIAT JUSTICIA!

Memorandum, That the *Scots* Acts of Convention and Parliament above-quoted, are collected and extracted from the Registers and Records of the *Meeting of Estates* and *Parliament* there, by the Commissioners then exercising the Office of Clerk-Register, and printed, *Cum Privilegio*, at *Edinburgh*, *Anno* 1690.

And the *Instructions* above-mentioned, sent from K. *W.* to Duke *Hamilton*, then his Commissioner there, were printed at *London*, by K. *W*'s Order, *Anno* 1689.

I have but one thing more. Upon reading over these Sheets after they were Printed, I find an Omission, as it may perhaps seem to some, *p.* 139. where shewing Dr. *K*'s *familiar* way of treating K. *J.* giving him the *Lye*, &c. I quote *p.* 15. of his Book, where he says, that the Representation made by K. *J.* was *false*, &c. and *p.* 211. that K. *J*'s Answer was a *piece of deceit*, and *meer collusion*, &c. Now, lest any might apprehend that the abovesaid *Representation* and *Answer* of K. *J.* were so gross as to provoke the Doctor to this ill Language, I will here tell you what they were, which when I wrote it, I did not think necessary, because, if they were never so bad, they could not justifie such *Billingsgate* Treatment of a *Crowned Head*, especially of his *Natural Sovereign*, to whom he had sworn *Allegiance*, and from whom he had receiv'd particular Marks of Favour, which I have shewn. But the matter was no more than this:

The *Representation* Dr *K* mentions *p.* 15. was a Declaration he names of K. *J*'s, dated 8 *May* 89. at *Dublin*, and sent into *England*, wherein the Doctor quotes these words, *viz. That his Protestant Subjects, their Religion, Privileges and Pro-*

per-

perties, were his especial Care since he came into Ireland. Which was so far from *false*, as the Doctor *decently* and *gratefully* words it, that nothing was more *true* and *apparent*, as I think is fully made out in the following *Answer*, to which I refer the Reader.

The other passage, *p.* 211. where he says, That K. *J*'s Answer was a *piece of Deceit*, &c. is thus: Upon a Contest betwixt the *Roman Catholick* and the *Protestant* Clergy, concerning their Title to some Churches and Chappels, *K. J.* referr'd them to *the Law*. And in the same place Dr. *K.* tells how violent and positive K. *J.* was, where he saw any forcible Infraction made by the Roman Catholick Clergy; as at *Wexford*, which is told above, *&c.*

Now, whether referring Men to the *Law* was such a provoking Answer, as to raise the Doctor's Spleen to bestow the *Lye*, *Deceit*, *Collusion*, and such civil Complements upon King *JAMES*, I leave to the Reader, and release him from this Preface; desiring him, before he begin the Book, to correct with his Pen the under-written Errors of the Press, because some of them do disturb the Sense.

ERRATA.

PAg. 2. lin. 34 read *Oxoniense*. P. 15. l. 17. r. *do pretend to prove* P. 16. l. 1 r. *ours*. P. 21. l. 32. dele *he might have added that*. P 22. l 9. r. *Pupillage* P. 25. l. 20. dele *And*. P. 29. l. 37. r. *greater*. P. 32. l. 22. r. *kill'd*. P. 33. l. 4. r. *greatest*. P. 34. l. 36. r. in *reckoning*. P. 51. l. 19 r. from *the Sabbath*. P. 52. Margin r. *his* Principles. P. 61. l. 5. r. *worse*. P. 91. l. 8. r. *in that same* Proclamation. P 92. l. 1. r. *against* Robbers l. 35. r. 89. P. 96. l. 17 r. *to want*. P. 100. l. 9. r. came *to Dublin*. P. 120. l. 25. r. their *Apostacy*. P. 128 l. 31. r. *Corban*. P. 151. l. 11. r. *the day* after. P 160 l. 10. r. *so* far. P. 167. l. 6. after other, add , P 171 l. 32. r. *in his Penitentials*. P. 175. l. 2 r. *as of*. P. 188. l. 26. r *new-made* Officers. P. 191. l. 1. r. *the* Case *of*. Page 161 and 162. are double pag'd.

Appendix. P. 5. l. 1. r. *how faithfully*. P 28 l. 13, 14. r. 27 *March*, 1689. P. 58. l. 3. r. *Edinburg*, 20. Apr. 92. P. 67. l. 17. r. 3*d of May*. P. 72. l. 19 r. pollute *our Altars*. P. 76. l. 8. r. *at the* Boot. Page 35 and 36 are misprag'd, and page 48 is printed 42.

An

AN
ANSWER to a BOOK,

Intituled,

The State of the Proteſtants in Ireland *under the late King* James's *Government*, &c.

THIS Book I am about to Anſwer, does not only undertake to Vindicate thoſe *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, whoſe Cauſe it defends, from the Imputation of *Rebellion* in this preſent *Revolution*; and, as the Ground-work of their Juſtification, to caſt the blackeſt Aſperſions upon King *James*: But, if I can Reaſon aright, it is calculated for the Deſtruction of *Mankind*, by ſetting up ſuch Principles as countenance Eternal Rebellions, and afford Pretences for War and Confuſion to the end of the World; and makes *Settlement* and *Peace* impracticable among Men.

If this Charge can be made good, (for which I muſt refer to what follows) then the Pains I have taken muſt be computed not only as a Juſt Vindication of K. *J.* from thoſe Aſperſions which are falſly laid upon Him, but as a Service to Mankind, to theſe Nations in an eſpecial manner, who, of late Ages, have moſt of all the Nations on the Earth, been ſubject to *Rebellion* and *Revolution*.

And if that has been chiefly occaſion'd by ſuch Principles as are ſet out in this Book, then the Diſcovery may be of uſe to thoſe who are ſtill purſuing of them blindfold; and a Caution to others not to engage, to the Deſtruction of *Soul* and *Body*; or if engaged, to *Repent* and *Return*.

If Learned Men think their Time and Labours well beſtowed in rectifying Miſtakes in Ancient Hiſtories, meerly for the *Truths* ſake; much more is it incumbent on us to examin into thoſe Matters of Fact by which we guide our preſent Actions, and for which we ſhall be accountable at the Day of Judgment; as likewiſe, that we ſuffer not Untruths and Falſe Repreſentations to deſcend to Poſterity

unreproved, especially of our own Natural Kings, whose *Fame* and *Reputation* we are in Conscience obliged to Defend as well as their *Persons*, so far as is consistent with Truth: and to be silent in such a Case, is bearing False Witness, at least virtually, and *slandering the Footsteps of God's Anointed.*

K. *James* has been loaded with more Calumny by *this Author*, than in all the scurrilous Pamphlets since the Revolution put together; which is the Reason this Book of his has been so industriously propagated, (it goes now in its *Fourth* Edition;) and his other *Narrative* and *bitter Invective*, called a *Thanksgiving-Sermon* (of which I shall have occasion to speak) has been spread in all shapes and sizes through the Nation, from a *Quarto*, to a Two-penny *Duodecimo*.

But I will detain you no longer, nor seek to anticipate your Judgment.

I divide this Book of our Author's into his *Principles* and *Matters of Fact.*

Division of the Book into Principles and Matters of Fact.

First, For his *Principles*. It is no easie Matter to know what they are: For tho his Book is digested into great exactness of Method, that is not as to his *Principles*, which he no where sets down in plain and express Terms, but leaves us to collect them from small *Hints* and *Inuendo's*, which are scattered immethodically up and down his Book. And this was not done by chance, but he was asham'd all of a sudden to disown his former Principles, *nemo repente*——It is natural for Men to endeavour not to be thought Changeable and Unconstant, and to hide or gloss it all they can. This we may reasonably suppose to be our Author's Case.

His Principles hard to be collected.

Not set down in Method.

They are the old Commonwealth Principles.

For the Principles which he exhibits, yet endeavours to conceal, in this Book, are all the old Rotten, Rebel, Commonwealth Principles, which we formerly exploded *in De Jure Regni, Rex Lex*, and other *Fanatical* Authors, condemn'd in the *Decretum Oxoniense*, and the Universal Current of the Divines of the Church of *England*, by none more than this Author, as you will see hereafter.

Therefore it is not to be wonder'd that he lets these Principles of his, which he has so lately embrac'd, drop from him in a covert way, as if they were not clean, and would foul his Fingers. Yet something he must say to them, to clear

clear his Paſſage, The Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* muſt be remov'd. To perform which he employs his Introduction, page 1. containing, as he tells us, an *Explication of the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, and ſtating the true Notion and Latitude of it.* And yet he does nothing elſe in it, but to tell us what ſome People thought of it: He begins, *It is granted by ſome,*—— and then gives three or four Quotations, without telling his own opinion, otherwiſe than as you may gather it from his more favourable Repreſenting one ſide than another. In the Heads of the Diſcourſe he promiſes much fairer than you find the Performance in the Book. Numb. 1. of the Introduction is, *That a King who deſigns to deſtroy a People abdicates the Government of them.* Which Poſition does need a great deal of Explication, and ſtating the true Notion and Latitude of it; becauſe a miſtake in it would prove of moſt deſtructive conſequence. But our Author leaves it all in the Generals, make of it what you can.

By what I can collect out of him his principle is the ſame with *Bradſhaw*, in his Speech upon the Tryal of King *Ch. I. viz.* That all Power is from the People: That Kings are but their Deputies; and therefore are accountable to the People, and may be depoſed by them.

Againſt this Dr. *Sherlock* inveighs moſt bitterly, in his Sermon before the Houſe of Commons laſt 30th of *Jan.* 91. page 18. where he reckons it, "as one of the moſt Fatal "Evils of ſuch Examples, as that of the day, that it infects "Mens Minds with looſe Notions of Government and Obe-"dience, which are at firſt invented to juſtifie ſuch Actions, "and which People are ſooner taught than untaught: As "that all Power is radically in the People, and therefore "but a Truſt, which a Prince muſt give an Account of, "which he may be deprived of, *&c.* And pag. 23. he ſays of theſe Principles, "That they have poiſoned the very "Springs and Fountains of Government, and ſo deeply "tinctur'd Mens Minds, that he prays God we may not "ſtill live to ſee the miſerable Effects of it. Thus Dr. *Sherlock*, even ſince his *Converſion.* But you may ſay, how does it appear that this Author now ſets up theſe Principles? You ſhall be Judge.

Pag.

Pag. 49. he ſays, *That it is ill truſting any one* (any King) *with ſuch a Power.* This is in his c. 3. ſ. 1. n. 8.

Again, c. 1. n. 10. p. 11. he expreſſes himſelf in theſe Words, *viz. The antient Government with which he* (the King) *was intruſted*, p. 41. he falls upon thoſe who ſtopt the Bill of Excluſion with this wholſome Advice, *Never to truſt Men* of King *James*'s Principles *and* Religion *with a Power that may deſtroy us.* Here the King's *Power* is onely what the
Pag. 57. People pleaſe to truſt him with. He ſays, *That it is not the King's Money that pays the Soldiers, but the Kingdoms*; and thence it will follow, that they are not the King's Soldiers,
67. but the Kingdoms. He ſays, *That every Law is certainly a Compact between the King and the People, wherein by a mutual Conſent they agree on a Rule by which he is to govern, and according to which they oblige themſelves to pay him Obedience: That*
68. *therefore the People may as lawfully diſpence with their Allegiance to the King, as the King diſpence with the Execution of a Law.*
77. *That the Subjects have no other Security for their Liberties, Properties, and Lives, except the Intereſt they have of chuſing their own Repreſentatives in Parliament.* Whereby he will exclude by very much the greateſt part of the Nation from having any ſecurity for their Lives, *&c. i. e.* all but the Electors of Parliament men; for none other have any Vote in chuſing their own Repreſentatives. But the Author makes them amends, by giving every one of them a power to diſpence with their Allegiance to the King, when ever they think that the King diſpences with the Execution of any Law. He makes them all *Popes*, to diſpence with Oaths, or any other Duty, when they think it reaſonable. And as he gives them Power over their Oaths of Allegiance, ſo he does over the King's Treaſury and Army. It is *Their* Mony, *Their* Army, and why ſhould not *They* command them? The King himſelf acts but by their Commiſſion, and by all Rule and Right, every Man is accountable to him from whom he has his Commiſſion.

He derives the *Eccleſ. Authority* from the *People.* p. 206.

But now our Author is upon the Rode, you ſhall ſee how he improves, he ſtops at nothing. And ſince he is a granting to the *People*, they ſhall have all, even *the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, which is truſted in the Crown*, ſhall be derived from the

the People, and transferrable by them to whom they think fit. For he makes King *James*'s breach of truſt *in the Eccleſiaſtical Authority* a provoking temptation *to his People* to think of *transferring* it to ſome other Perſon. This will gratify the *Phanaticks* as well as *Commonwealth-men*, That even the *Eccleſiaſtical* Authority is derived from the *People*.

His Interpretation of its not being Lawful upon any Pretence to take Arms againſt the King, &c. pag. 221. n. 3.

And now to Crown all, He gives as large and looſe an Interpretation of that famous Principle of the Ch. of *England*, *viz.* of *its not being Lawful upon any Pretence whatever to take Arms againſt the King*, &c. as *Bradſhaw*, *Rutherford*, *Bellarmin*, or *Mariana* could deſire. *viz.* He ſays it was only meant, *That private Men ſhould not take up the Sword, or reſiſt the King upon any Pretence*; that is, ſays he, *upon any Pretence of private Injury, or Wrong done to them in particular*.

Beyond this, none of the *Republicans*, *Phanaticks*, and *Jeſuits* in the World could go. So that this was no very *diſtinguiſhing* Principle of the Church of *England*, as we us'd to call it.

But if you will allow the ſame Parliament which enacted the abovcſaid Principle of Non-Reſiſtance to the King, *&c.* to underſtand their own Meaning, or think that the declared Senſe of the Legiſlators is the true Senſe of the Law, then our Author has widely miſtaken his Mark, and miſinterpreted this Law. For 12 *Car.* 2. c. 30. it is declared, *That neither the Peers nor Commons, nor both together, nor the People, Collectively nor Repreſentatively, in Parliament or out of Parliament, nor any other Perſons whatſoever, have any Coercive Power over the Kings of* England.

Now judge, whether all this is meant only of *Private Men*? as our Author would make you believe.

And take Notice, that this is not to be taken as a Grant from that Parliament; It is a *Recognition*, wherein they declare what was the Law before them: And they vouch, that this Prerogative of the King, to be exempt from all Coercive Power, is by *the undoubted and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom*. And that neither Lords nor Commons, nor any other Perſons, not only *now* have not, or *hereafter* ſhall not have any ſuch Power over the King, but that they *never had*, or ever *ought to have* ſuch Power.

I hope our Author will confeſs, That this is ſomewhat a greater Authority, and ought to have greater Weight with

us,

us, than his ſingle Opinion, which he has taken up but of late.

And to confound that Diſtinction of the Parliament being *Coordinate* with the King, and making the King but one of the three Eſtates, which would imply their having ſomething to do with the *Sword* (which is the Supreme Power of Government) joyntly with the King, and therefore in ſome Caſes might reſtrain him by Force (which was the Pretence in 41.) to obviate all this, the *Militia* (which is the Sword of *England*) is by Act of Parliament put in the Hands of the King *alone*; And it is declared in expreſs Words, 13 *Car.*2. That *the Sword is ſolely in the King's Power, and that neither one nor both Houſes of Parliament can, or Lawfully may, Raiſe or Levy any War offenſive or defenſive againſt his Majeſty*,&c.

The Title of this Section, p. 221. is, *King* James, *and his Party, endeavoured to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, by miſrepreſenting the Perſons and Principles of Proteſtants.* But it is not in the Power of *Jeſuit*, or any you can imagine, to miſrepreſent the Proteſtant Principles more than this Author in this ſame Section, as you have ſeen ; that is, if you will allow that the Proteſtants did ever repreſent them Right before.

And whereas he Objects, in the forementionʼd Place, *That by it* (the aboveſaid Principle of *Non-Reſiſtance*) *it was never intended to give up the Conſtitution of the Government, or to part with the Liberties and Privileges of the Kingdom.* The Anſwer is very eaſy ; for by the Judgment of what he calls the *Conſtitution* of the Government, *viz.* King and Parliament, *That Principle* is the *Conſtitution* of the Government, and conſequently, they are the Men that break the *Conſtitution* of the Government, who Declare or Act againſt that *Principle.* And as for the *Liberties and Privileges of the Kingdom*, no doubt the Wiſdom of the Kingdom in Parliament thought their Liberties and Privileges better preſerved by that Principle, than by the contrary of letting the People take Arms againſt the Government, when ever they thought themſelves agrieved. They had experience of both ; and we muſt believe they conſiderʼd the Matter very well. And that it ought not to be ſhaken by the Authority of this Author, who is ſo young in this Opinion, that he knows not by which handle to take it ; at leaſt, he will not let us know. For

he

he tells us not his Scheme of Government, nor pitches upon any of those, which are already set up, by those of his *New Party*.

Of which some lay the *Foundation* of all Government upon the *Municipal Laws* of the Land; so that if a King goes about to break the *Laws*, he thereby forfeits his Crown, *&c.* Several Schemes of Government.

Others think, That *Laws*, which are the *Result* of Government, cannot be the *Foundation* of Government: However, that it is not to be alleg'd in a Country where the Law it self makes it unlawful to Resist the King. Which Dr. *Tillotson* has materially urg'd in his Letter to my Lord *Russel*. See the Appendix, n. 14.

Others therefore fly higher, to *Original Contract*, which is suppos'd to be prior to all *Municipal Laws*; and on which all *Laws* must depend.

But others again think this Plea to be too precarious; and that it cannot be sufficiently prov'd. And therefore they chuse another sort of a way, which they call *Abdication*. Which some think as perplex'd as any of the rest, even in the present Case.

Lastly, there is a wiser Set, who think it most convenient to be always on the *stronger Side*; and therefore they cry up *Success* as a *Divine Right*. They have only one point of Prudence to observe, not to Turn too soon, least they mistake *Providence*.

Now this Author comes last, and, like a Man a Drowning, he catches at some, or all of these, but holds by none. They are too slippery, and fly from him; it must be part of the one, and part of t'other, that will serve this Hypothesis; and therefore he does wisely not to pitch upon any one. But yet without pitching upon some one, and forsaking all other, sticking close by it, he can never demonstrate the Truth, nor speak consistently with himself. However we must follow him as he pleases to lead us, though he fights in Clouds of Dust, that it is not easy to find him out.

You have seen his Principles as to *Government*, which he hides in Generals. But it is plain they are *Anti-monarchical*,

 though

though we cannot tell exactly the Class to which they belong.

But what proof he offers for them is in his *Introduction*, wherein he pretends to prove, *That a King who designs to destroy a People, Abdicates the Government of them.* Thence c. 2. and 3. his business is to shew, That King *James* had that Design. *Ergo* ——

The Case of one Prince interposing betwixt another Prince and his Subjects.

But c. 1. he goes a little aside, and undertakes this Subject, *viz. That it is Lawful for one Prince to interpose between another Prince and his Subjects, when he uses them Cruelly.*

I do not meddle with this Chapter, for two Reasons. First, It is undertaken by another hand. Secondly, My business is with the Duty of Subjects, in which only they are Concern'd for whose benefit I write.

But I will give you this General Notion of it. That by the Arguments he advances, it is Lawful not only for *every Prince*, but for *every Neighbour* to inspect into his Neighbour's Family, and to dispossess him of his *House*, of his *Estate*, of his *Tenants*, *Servants*, *Children*, of his *Wife*, when he uses them Cruelly. And this Charitable Interposer shall seize upon them all for himself, on pretence of using them better.

He gives Examples of several Princes, who have thus interposed twixt their Neighbour Kings and their Subjects, and so he might many more; the World is full of such Examples, and of many other Examples, which perhaps this Author would be asham'd to justify.

But suppose that good Kings (who have been so reputed) have done this? What then? May not good Men have their Failings? I do not think that *David*'s Decision 'twixt *Ziba* and *Mephibosheth*, would be a good Rule for future Justice. Though our Author has not truly represented all the Instances that he produces, which will be shewn. But if they were true, it is no Argument.

I shall only mind our Author of his own Words, which I will have occasion to mention hereafter, *viz. That it is a most Unlawful Thing for any to call in a Foreign Force, or erect a new Government to Redress unjust Laws* —— And again, *That it is Intolerable for the Members of any State, to flee to Foreign*

Succors out of Pretence, that their own Governours have made Laws against Reason, Conscience, and Justice, and Foolish to alledge in their defence, That all Mankind is of one Blood, and bound to help one another.

I leave our Author to Recant this, or Reconcile it, at his Leasure to this first Chapter of his Book. Which because I do not expresly Undertake, I will pass for this time, and return to his Principles of Subjection to Government, which is my present Task.

Let us now come to examine the Defence he makes for these his Principles. The Author's defence of his Principles.

First, We will consider his *Arguments*. Secondly, His *Quotations* and *Authorities*.

The Point he is to prove, we will take in his own Words, n. 1. of the Introduction, *viz. That a King who designs to destroy his People, Abdicates the Government of them.* And here as to his *Reasons*, or *Arguments* to prove this, he disappoints us. From Reason.

For his whole Introduction (wherein he undertakes the Proof of this) is nothing but *Quotations*, which we are to examine by themselves. But he tells us not his own Opinion, you shall not fasten upon him.

He begins, *It is granted by some* —— and I might answer, *What is not granted by some?* He is afraid at his first setting out. N. 1. he has one Quotation out of *Grotius*, and another out of *Hammond*. N. 2. one out of Dr. *Hicks*, and another out of *Faulkner*. N. 3. he Quotes the *Homilies*, and Dr. *Hicks* again. And then N. 4. (which is the last) concludes from their Authorities. All which is to be consider'd, when we come to the second Class I have design'd to speak to, that is, his *Quotations*.

But for his *Reasons* he puts us to the pains to gather them by an Innuendo, *viz.* That what he Quotes out of others is his own Opinion.

Therefore, laying aside his *Authorities* to their proper Place, we will examine the *Reasons* which are produc'd.

Thus then he sets forth. *It is granted by some of the highest Asserters of Passive Obedience, that if a King design to root out a People, or destroy one main part of his Subjects in favour of another whom he loves better, that they may prevent it even by opposing him with force; and that he is to be judg'd in such a case to have*

Abdicated *the Government of thoſe whom he deſigns to deſtroy, contrary to Juſtice and the Laws.*

This he does not offer to prove. I ſuppoſe he thinks it ſelf-evident. Therefore we will examine it very carefully.

First Reaſon, of a King's deſigning to deſtroy his *whole* People.

There are three Things to be conſider'd in it. Firſt, a King deſigning to root out a People, that is, the *whole People*; to deſtroy *all the whole Nation* whom he Governs. Secondly, his deſign to deſtroy *a part only* of his People. And Thirdly, the point of *Abdication*, in ſuch a Caſe.

For the Firſt. *Grotius*, as Quoted by our Author, ſays, that it cannot enter into the heart of a King, who is not *mad*; for that would be to deſtroy himſelf. And Hiſtory affords no Example of this ſort, ſince the World began. None of theſe quoted by this Author, p. 13. do reach this Caſe at all. Neither *Nero*, *Caligula*, *Domitian*, nor *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, deſign'd to deſtroy their *whole People*; though this Author in that Section would fain inſinuate it. But it cannot paſs upon any who are in their Senſes; ſome in a *Huffing fit* might wiſh, That all the World had but one Neck, that they might ſtrike it off at a blow: Hence our Author would preſently conclude as he does, c. 2. ſ. 1. n. 3. *That a Prince may deſign to deſtroy his Subjects, i. e. all* his Subjects; He might as well draw an Argument from all the vaporing Stuff of *Almanzor*. And if our Author will inſiſt upon this, every ſober Man will think him as *mad*, as *Grotius* thought that King who ſhould attempt any ſuch Thing. What hands ſhould the King imploy to deſtroy all his Subjects? But I will give over this point, leaſt I too ſhould be thought mad to labour ſuch a Caſe.

Seond Reaſon, of a King's deſigning to deſtroy a *part* of his People.

The Second Point is, The King's deſign to deſtroy *a part only* of his People.

And the Queſtion naturally riſes, *What part?* Every Man is a *part* of the People. And there is abſolute neceſſity to have this determin'd, otherwiſe no Government can poſſibly ſubſiſt. For if all People, who think themſelves oppreſs'd under any Government, have Liberty to riſe in Arms againſt the Government, there would be little Peace in the World.

Again;

Again: If the design of a Government to destroy a Man does dissolve their Authority over that Man, then it would follow, that Men condemn'd to *dye*, or *out law'd*, though for *Rebellion*, were no longer Subjects, nor ow'd any Duty or Allegiance to the Government, which is contrary to the general Sense of Mankind, and I suppose our Author will not have the Confidence to assert; yet it follows unavoidably from his Principle.

Third Reason, *Invading of Property.*

But will nothing less than a Design to take my *Life* dissolve the Government? Yes; *Invading* my *Property*, or doing me the least Injury, by this Author's Principles, does dissolve the Government, and set me at Liberty to take Arms against them: For he that does me a *small* Injury may doe a *greater*, and he that takes my *Goods* may take my *Life* too, *&c.*

Thus c. 3. s. 8. n. 2. p. 97. this Author lays it down as a Principle, That where the Government ruins the *Property* of the Subject, that Government *dissolves it self.*

Here we must ask (as in the former Case of destroying a part of the People) How much Ruine of Property is sufficient to dissolve the Government? And he seems to answer it by putting in the word *Intirely*, *viz.* where a Government *Intirely* ruins the *Property* of the Subject.

But he will not stick to this: That word was put in only to amuse; for the Property of Subjects can never be *Intirely* ruined, while one Man has a Groat in the Kingdom.

May be he will say, That though they have it in their *Custody*, yet they have no *Property* to it, if there be a *Power* in the *Government* to take it from them. But this will doe him as little Service; for at this rate no Subject in the World has, or can have, any Property; because in all Constitutions of Government, there must be a Legislative Power lodged in some hands or other; which is equally arbitrary in all the *Species* of Government; and all have power of Levying Money from off their Subjects.

Here some may fansie to make a Distinction, That in *Free States*, as we call them, the Subjects who consent to the

the *Conſtitution*, do thereby conſent to their Raiſing of Money, *&c.*

And if the *People* be the *Original* of all Government, their Conſent to the *Conſtitution* is as much implied in *Monarchies.*

Therefore I ſuppoſe our Author's meaning muſt not be as to the *Power* of the Government, (which, as I ſaid, is *Equal* in all Governments,) but as to the *Adminiſtration*; *viz.* If the Government ſhould take my Goods wrongfully, or ſhould lay Deſigns to take them from me. And in this caſe, if they take but a *Penny*, the Deſign may be carried as to all, and then the Government is diſſolved, *&c.*

So that the word *Intirely*, which our Authour put in, ſignifies juſt nothing at all, in his way of improving the leaſt Injury to infer the greateſt.

And to ſhew you that this is his meaning in this ſame Section, n. 8. p. 74. he aſſerts, That the Governments taking away the *Charter* of *Derry* unjuſtly, as he ſays, was a ſufficient Ground for them to take Arms againſt the Government, which he calls, *Doing themſelves Juſtice.* But you may think that there was ſomething elſe in the Caſe, beſides the buſineſs of the Charter. No, he ſays, *If there had been no other temptation but this, they were not to be blamed, to withdraw themſelves from a Government they durſt not truſt.* And he gives the ſame Reaſon I have told above, of improving every thing to the utmoſt: For, ſays he, *They concluded that a Government that could take away their Charter, their Priviledges, might as eaſily and unavoidably find another nicety to take away what remained, together with their Lives.*

Fourth Reaſon, *Diſarming* a part of his Subjects.

But farther, not only meddling with our *Property* ſhall be Pretence enough to diſſolve the Government; but if the Government ſhould offer to *diſarm* thoſe whom they knew, and this Author confeſſes, to be their mortal Enemies, the Caſe of my Lord Deputy of *Ireland* diſarming the *Proteſtants* there, who, after all their diſarming, this Author confeſſes, p. 111. *had Arms enough to make the Papiſts afraid, and to beat them*

them too. And the Generality of the Proteſtants in that Kingdom, who were out of the reach of the Government, were then actually in Arms againſt the Government; yet *diſarming* ſuch of theſe, as the Government could come at, this Author proves by his uſual *Climax* to be a Deſign even of *Maſſacre. For had they not reaſon,* ſays he, p. 115. *to believe that they were diſarm'd purpoſely that they might be the more eaſily Robb'd or Maſſacred?* And, p. 112. he calls that Diſarming, *perfect Dragooning, terrible Dragooning.*

Now conſider what a Scheme of Government this Author has given us, *viz.* That if the Government have a *Deſign* againſt our *Lives*, the Government is diſſolv'd. And if they take a *Peny* from us, or ſo much as diſpute the *Charter* of any Town, or preſume but to *Diſarm* any of their Subjects, though they be actually in Arms againſt them, this ſhall be improv'd into a Deſign of *Maſſacre*; and then we owe no more Obedience to the Government: It is diſſolv'd, *&c.*

I come now to the Third Point, that is, of *Abdication*; and the only true Notion of it, by all *Civilians*, is, *The Author's Rule of Abdication conſider'd.*

A King's Voluntary Reſignation of the Crown to the next Heir.

But take it in that Senſe which by ſome of late has been put upon it, and it will by no means help this Author's Cauſe. For I ſuppoſe none, even of them, will allow that it is left to every private Perſon to determine what ſort of Withdrawing himſelf ſhall be judged an *Abdication* in the King, ſo as to Diſſolve the Government, and Abſolve the Subjects from their Allegiance.

King *Charles* the Firſt fled to *Scotland*, to ſave his Life from thoſe who pretended to make him *A GLORIOUS KING.*

King *Charles* the Second withdrew himſelf into *foreign* Countries for ſeveral Years; yet neither of them was ever ſaid to have *Abdicated.*

And it was debated ſtrongly in the *Convention*, Whether King *James* the Second's *Withdrawing* was an *Abdication*, or not?

This

This ſhews that they thought the Deciſion of ſome *Regular Aſſembly* neceſſary to ſettle that Point; and that it was not left to every Man to decide ſo great a Matter, whereon the Safety of the Nation does depend.

Therefore this Author's juſtifying what his *Proteſtants* of *Ireland* did upon the Account of King *James*'s *Abdication*, will do them no Service, upon that Notion of *Abdication*, ſet up by the *Convention* in *England*; becauſe they were up in Arms againſt King *James* before the *Convention* in *England* declared him to have *Abdicated*, and even before his *Withdrawing himſelf*; upon which they pretended to ground their *Sentence* of *Abdication*.

But this Author muſt not ſtay for that. He gives every Man *Authority* to paſs *Sentence* of *Deprivation* againſt his *Sovereign* when he pleaſes.

C. 1. n. 8. p 10. he ſays, *By endeavouring to deſtroy us, he* (the King) *in that very Act abdicated the Government --- and therefore in all Equity we are abſolved from Oaths made to him as Governor.*

In that very Act! Nay, even his *Deſign*, as you have heard, to take a *Peny* from us, or to bring a *Quo Warranto* againſt a *Charter*, that is, to take the Benefit of the Law againſt any of his Subjects, in a Legal manner, ſhall be a Diſſolution of the Government, and *Abſolution* from our Oaths, *&c.*

Fifth Reaſon as to the diſſolving Oaths of Allegiance.

Here is very good Learning as to the Nature of Oaths, and Arguments moſt convincing: He goes on in the ſame Section, n. 10. p. 11. *That King* James *conſenting to Repeal the Oath of Supremacy in* Ireland, *proved either that he deſigned to Releaſe us from the Peculiar Obligation ariſing from them* (*our Oaths of Allegiance*) *as too ſtrict, or elſe that he did not deſign to depend on our Oaths for our Loyalty,* (whoever does will be miſtaken, you have given demonſtration,) *and therefore laid them aſide as of no force to oblige us; either of which muſt proceed from an Intention to deſtroy the Ancient Government with which he was entruſted.*

Now let us ſuppoſe, with this Author, That King *James* (having ſeen and experimented the little Security Oaths were to Government, againſt the Byaſs of *Intereſt* or *Inclination*) were willing to remove ſuch a *Stumbling-block* for the *future*, and that Men ſhould Swear *no more*: would this

this absolve the Oaths that were taken *before*? Again, most know the Objection which the Papists have against our Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, *viz.* That it depresses the Pope's Power *in Spirituals*. Now because K. *James* Repeals this, our Author would infer, That he meant to Release the Protestants from their Allegiance to himself in *Temporals*. Does this Author think, That K. *James* Repeal'd this Oath because it was too full of *Loyalty*? or because there was something else in it, which K. *James* thought was against the Tenets of the Church of *Rome*? I am asham'd to ask the Question, none are ignorant of the Reason of it.

Our Author will find this Argument of his Verbatim almost in the Writings of the *Cameronian Presbyterians*. (I know not if he had it from them, but at least he sees how near he is come to them; for when Men jump in the same Principles, it is likely they will find out the same Arguments.) These *Cameronians* do prove, That K. *Charles* II. consenting to Repeal the *Covenant* did thereby *Remit the Subjects Allegiance, by annulling the Bond of it*. Vid. *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, Printed at *London*, 1692. p. 49.

This *Covenant* was Established by Act of their *Parliament* as well as *General Assembly*; and K. *Charles* II. consented to it, and took it, and swore by his Coronation Oath in *Scotland* to maintain it; and it swore Faith and Allegiance to him; and therefore this Author would do well to think of a Disparity 'twixt his Argument and that of the *Cameronians*; 'twixt K. *Charles* II. consenting to Repeal the *Covenant*, and K. *James* II. consenting to Repeal the Oath of *Supremacy*. Each Oath was to Establish a *Supremacy* over the *Church*, the one a *Lay-Regal*, the other a *Lay-Elder*, and *Presbyterial* Supremacy. And the one King might think the one as faulty, as the other thought the other. But that either of these Kings meant to weaken the Allegiance of his Subjects, by taking away these Oaths, the one is as true as the other.

Our Author has one Argument more, why this Allegiance to K. *James* did cease; *He* (K. *James*) *having left none* (no Oath of Allegiance) *that we know of in this Kingdom, which any Law obliges us to take*. And what then? Is there no Allegiance due, where there is no Oath? Our Allegiance is due, by the Law of *England*, prior to the King's Oath to us,

or owns to him. Oaths in that Caſe do not create the Duty; they are only in Confirmation of what was our Duty before.

In the Eaſtern Monarchies they do not uſe Coronation Oaths, nor Oaths of Allegiance. And *Auguſtus* was ſo wiſe (ſays *the Unreaſonableneſs of a new Separation on account of the Oaths*, p. 40.) as when they offered him their Oaths, he refuſed them for this Reaſon, *He conſider'd well*, ſaith *Dio*, *that if they gave their free Conſent, they would do what they promiſed without Swearing; and if they did not, all the Oaths in the World would not make them.* Did *Auguſtus* for this expect no Allegiance from his Subjects? Or are not the Eaſtern Monarchs pretty Abſolute, becauſe the Law in thoſe Nations does not require *Oaths*? But after all, by the *Common Law* in *England* and *Ireland*, all above 16 are to ſwear Allegiance to the King, and it may be exacted from them in their *Leets*. And this is the Reaſon they gave for impoſing the new Oaths in *Ireland* to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, before there was an Act of Parliament for it. And therefore there was as much Law of the Land for ſwearing of Allegiance to K. *James* in *Ireland*, after his Repeal of the Oath of Supremacy, as our Author can pretend there was for ſwearing to K. *William* in *Ireland*, before the new Act impoſing the Oaths there. So that our Author is out too in matter of Law.

Dio. l. 54.

Sixth Reaſon, in anſwer to the Queſtion, *Who ſhall be Judge?*

But the main of the Difficulty is yet behind; and that is, That upon our Author's Scheme of diſſolving Oaths and Government, for ſuch Reaſons as he thinks fit, he has not told us *who ſhall be Judge* of theſe Forfeitures, or Abdications. This I have urg'd already, but you have not heard our Author's anſwer. He ſays, c. 2. ſ. 1. n. 2. p. 12. it is commonly Objected, *Who ſhall be Judge?* and he reſolves it thus. *That either the People muſt be left to judge of the Deſigns of their Governors—— Or elſe they muſt be oblig'd to a blind and abſolute Submiſſion, without imploying their Underſtanding in the Caſe.* Thus our Author like a mighty Man! Yet this Sophiſm is as poor a one as the laſt about the Oaths. For in the Caſe we are upon of determining a Cauſe, 'twixt the Government and the Subjects, when we ſay, *who ſhall be Judge?* The meaning is not, who ſhall have Power to think in his

own

own Mind? We say, *Thoughts are free.* And this sort of *passing Judgment*, or of being a *Judge*, can no more be taken from any Man than his Power of *Thinking*.

But when there is a Contest 'twixt *King* and *People* (which is the Case we are upon) the Question, *who shall be Judge?* is, *who has Authority to determine the Cause betwixt them?* as a *Judge* does between two contending Parties. In which Sense, none can be a *Judge* but he that has a *Commission* from some who has Power to invest him with that *Authority*, *viz.* to judge 'twixt *King* and *People*; which none can have but God alone. And to say, that every Man who is not such a *Judge* as this has not leave to *imploy his Understanding in the Case*, because he has not Power *Authoritatively* to determine the Case, so as to oblige, and tye up the contending Parties, is what this Author would slily pass upon you undiscover'd, but it is too plain to bear an Argument.

Well then. The Question is concerning an *Authoritative* Judge, and our Author proceeds. *I dare appeal*, says he, *to all the World, whether it be safer to leave it to the Judgment and Consciences of a whole Kingdom to determine concerning the Designs of their Governor, or to leave it to the Will and Conscience of the King, whether he will destroy them. One of these is unavoidable; and I am assured it is less probable, that the Generality of a Kingdom will concur in a Mistake of this Nature, and less mischievous, if they should mistake, than that a King by Weakness, wicked Councellors, or false Principles, should design to make his People Slaves, subvert the Antient Government, or destroy one part of his People, whom he hates, in favour of another.*

Thus our Author. And the Case is plausibly laid down, and no doubt would gain the *Cry* at an *Election*. But there is another Prospect of this Case, which our Author takes care to conceal; and that is, What if a Cunning and Designing *Incendiary* makes a *Party*, and prevails Universally among the People, and perswades them to their own Destruction? *Misrepresent* their *Governor*, and Impose upon them, That a *Civil War* is better, and by this means get them to Destroy and Consume one another?

Thus did *Absalom*, thus did *Sheba*, thus *Oliver*, and all the *prosperous Rebels*. There is no other way of moving the People, unless you could bring them all to a fair Vote, which is

only Impoſſible, at leaſt it was never done, and therefore we juſtly may ſuppoſe it never will be. Let us leave theſe Diſputings in the Clouds, and bring this Author to *matter of Fact*. Are not all *Revolutions* carried on by *making Parties*, *Combinations* of *Leading-men*, *Aſperſing* your *Oppoſites*, uſing all Arts to Byaſs the *Mob* to your ſide? Did ever any, in ſuch Caſes, ſpeak nothing but the *honeſt Truth* of the Governour againſt whom they took Arms? Did they leave it *freely* and *impartially* to the Judgment of the *People*, without any *Miſrepreſentations*, or *invidious Inſinuations*? And was it Equal to them, whether the People, upon a fair Hearing, determin'd againſt them as *Rebels*, or for them as *Patriots*? Can there be a Method for the People to have ſuch a fair Hearing of the Cauſe, and to determine it *Judicially*?

If our Author cannot ſay that any of theſe Things has been, or are ever likely to be done, he muſt acknowledge, That there is infinitely more hazzard of Giddy Peoples being *debauch'd* by Inſinuating Crafty Men, who ſeek their own Advantage in it, to entertain *Jealouſies* and *Fears* of their Governor's Deſigns, and to *over-rate* every Hardſhip and ill Uſage they receive from him; than that a King ſhould deſign to deſtroy his People, which would be to deſtroy himſelf. And if *one of theſe is Unavoidable*, as our Author ſays, It is eaſy to ſee where the moſt danger lyes. The one has been our own Caſe, and is almoſt every day. The other is Imaginary, without an Inſtance in the World, in the Extremity our Author puts it; and, at the worſt, many degrees preferable to a *Civil War*, as will be ſhewn.

Nor will the *Number* of the People, or *Greatneſs* of their Leaders excuſe any thing, It makes their Rebellion more *Fatal*. In the Rebellion of *Korah* there were 250 *Princes of the Aſſembly, famous in the Congregation, Men of Renown*. And; *All the Children of Iſrael* —— *The whole Congregation*, mutiny'd againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and were chuſing another Captain, and returning into *Egypt*. And *Korah* gather'd *all the Congregation againſt them, and on the morrow all the Congregation*-- murmured againſt 'em. For which God deſtroy'd 14700 by a new Plague.

Numb. 16. 12. c. 14. v. 2, 4. c. 16. v. 19, 41, 49.

Now judge with your ſelf if ſuch a Governor as *Moſes* could not ſecure himſelf from the Power which *Ten* Leading Men had with the People (for they were no more who caus'd

caus'd this Mutiny of the *whole Congregation*, *Num.* 14. 2. *viz. Ten* of the *Twelve* Searchers of the Land) what Governor's *Virtue*, *Sufficiency*, or *Diligence*, can ſecure him? We know how *Abſalom* ſtole the Hearts of the People from *David* his Father. And they follow'd him *in the ſimplicity of their Hearts*, ſays the Text; as many did, at firſt, in the Rebellion againſt *Charles* the Martyr. But I cannot tell if our Author will allow that for an Inſtance, I know not how far his new Principles have carried him. It is hard to ſtop in ſuch a Courſe. Their Repentance is Rare; eſpecially of thoſe who are Converted to it from contrary Principles. And if there be a viſible Motive of Intereſt, it makes their Return ſtill more difficult.

But to conclude this Point in our Author's Phraſe. *I dare appeal to all the World*, whether it be more dangerous to exempt the King from the Judgment of the People, or to put it in the Power of any Diſcontented or Ambitious Men to endeavour to *diſguſt* the People againſt the Government, and lead them into a *Civil War* at their Pleaſure? For that is the true ſtate of the Queſtion.

We know how many *Mahomet* has perſwaded. And by what means *Falſe Religions*, and *Seditious Principles*, have ſpread through the World. No doubt, this Author intended his Book ſhould take among the People. He knew People could be Impos'd upon; and never ſo much as when they are cajol'd, and told fine Stories of their *Power*, Paramount to all Kings and Governors.

That it is in their hands to pull down one, and ſet up another, to bind their Kings in Chains, and root up all Governments at their Pleaſure, for this Argument of our Author's militates equally againſt *all Sorts* of *Government*. And he may appeal again to all the World, Whether it be ſafer to leave it to the Judgments and Conſciences of a whole Nation to determine concerning the Deſigns of their Governors (whether *Parliaments* or *States*) or to leave it to the Will and Conſcience of the *Parliaments* or *States*, whether they will deſtroy them? And one of theſe is unavoidable.

The Queſtion, *Woo ſhall be Judge?* apply'd to *Parliaments*, and *States*.

If you ſay, It is not likely that a *Parliament* or *States* ſhould deſign to deſtroy the People. That is another Queſtion.

But

Compar'd with *Kings*.

But pray tell me, Would any *Member* of the *Parliament*, or *States*, loose so much by the Destruction of the Kingdom, as the *King*? Therefore it is less probable that *he* should *Design* its Destruction, than *any* of *them*. There may be an *Equivalent* given to any of them to Betray and Ruin his Country, and there are Examples of it in all Ages.

Jugurtha Brib'd the whole *Senate* of *Rome*, even when he was at War with them.

About 20 Years ago, the *French Faction* among the Burghers of *Amsterdam* were able to *Out-vote* the other. And some believe it is so still.

How has the allarm of *French Pentioners* disturb'd our Parliaments? But more that of *Court Pentioners*. Who are Free to give our Money (the sooner we shall have done) but Deaf to *Grievances* and *Miscarriages*.

Was there ever a *Parliament*, *Convention*, or *Senate*, where the major Number was *Un bribable*? Or was there ever a Bribe offer'd to a King to Betray or Sell his Country? *Deceiv'd* he may be, or *take wrong Measures*; but it is inconceavable he shou'd *Design* the Ruin of his Country.

Therefore whoever you make Judg of the *King's* Designs, must, from a stronger Reason, be Judg of the Designs of *Parliaments* and *States*: And this will unhinge all Governments in the World.

Of Fears and Jealousies.

But our Author endeavours to smooth all this by saying in the beginning of this Section, n. 1. p. 12. *That* Fears *and* Jealousies, *in such a Case, ought not to pass for* Arguments, *or be brought in Competition with a* certain *and* plain Duty, *that is, with* Obedience *to* Lawful Governors. *The Arguments therefore brought by Subjects to prove their Governors design to destroy them, ought to be so* plain *and* evident, *that the Consciences of Mankind* cannot *but see, and be convinc'd of their Truth*; *especially the Generality of the Subjects themselves ought to be* fully *satisfied, and* acquiesce *in them.*

But all these fine Words leave us just where we were. For every Man is Judge still; and he is Judge when he himself is *satisfied*, and will *acquiesce* in the Arguments brought against his Governor.

And Men that are Deceived do think themselves in the Right, else they were not Deceived. So that the Rule of Govern-

Government is ſtill left Looſe and Precarious; as Uncertain as the Giddy Motions of the *Mob*, And laid open to all the Attempts of Ambitious and Deſigning Men.

Our Author ſays, *That Jealouſies and Fears, in ſuch a Caſe, ought not to paſs for Arguments.* This needs ſome Explanation. For what more can there be of a Governor's Deſign to deſtroy us (which is the Caſe in hand) beſides a *Jealouſy* and *Fear* of it? Till the Action be done, we cannot be ſure of it; not ſo ſure as our Author requires, *viz.* we can have no ſuch Security, *that ought to be brought in Competition with a certain and plain Duty, that is, with Obedience to Lawful Governors.*

There is hardly an Action in the World, but may be done out of ſeveral Deſigns; and none ſo much as the Actions of *Governors*, and *Matters* of *State*. And therefore there is nothing ſo eaſy as to be Miſtaken in theſe Deſigns. Eſpecially if theſe Deſigns be kept as Secrets of State among Princes themſelves.

Such was the ſuppos'd League which K. *James* was ſaid to have made with K. *Lewis* of *France* to Root out all the Proteſtants, not only of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, but *all the World over*. *French* League.

This was ſo Induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, and vouched with ſuch Confidence, that it was given out the P. of *Orange* had procur'd the Original ſign'd by both Kings, and would produce it in Parliament.

This was believ'd, and clamour'd about by Multitudes of ſilly People.

But neither the *Prince* in his *Declaration*, nor the *Convention* in their Liſt of Male-adminiſtrations againſt K. *James* did mention the leaſt tittle of this; which would have ſerved more to their purpoſe than all the reſt they had to allege.

And the ~~might have added, that~~ Lord *Sunderland* in his Letter (n. 15. Append. quoted in this Author's Book, p 145.) proteſts *he never knew of any; and that* French *Ships were offer'd to join with our Fleet, and they were refuſed.*

Nor has it been heard of ſince from the mouth of any who pretend to common ſenſe, or the leaſt knowledg of Affairs, till we were Rattl'd with it out of the Pulpit in this Author's Thankſgiving Sermon before the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, *Nov.* 16. 1690.

A League!

A League! (says he) *Notorious and Remarkable for its Folly and Falshood, so contrary to all Sense as well as Faith, that the Great Princes concern'd in it, are yet asham'd to own it.*

But he knows better Things, he understands all their *Cabals*. He tells (page 5. 9. 16. of the Sermon) *How* England, Holland, *the* Pope, *and the* Emperor, *might be cully'd and wheedled. How the* Empire *was to be Divided betwixt the* Turk *and the* German Princes, *and the* Dauphin *to be King of the* Romans, Savoy *was to be brought under Pupillage, the Princes of* Italy *to be Frighted, Bought, or Wheedled,* Genoa *to be Bomb'd,* England *Bought, and* Holland *Drown'd (alas! Poor* Holland!) *The Queen of* Spain *designedly made Barren, and the Prince of* Wales *a Cheat.*

There's a Plot for you!

And p. 10. he asks K. *James, What business had he with an Army?*

But leaving his *Politicks*, let us come with him a little to the Argument.

He has Establish'd it before, That *Jealousies and Fears* are not to pass for Arguments *against the certain and plain Duty of Obedience to Lawful Governors.* But that what is brought against them ought to be *so Plain and Evident that the Consciences of Mankind cannot but see and be convinc'd of its Truth.*

And yet he brings here against K. *James* such Trash as *Grub-street* would be asham'd to own; and, if the Sermon were not so common, I should be afraid to Quote, least it should be thought an Imposition upon this Author. But he has set his Name to it, and Dedicated it to the *Lords Justices* of *Ireland*, before whom he Preach'd it.

Pr. of *Wales.* Of all the Instances above-nam'd, we are more immediately concern'd in that of the Prince of *Wales*; against whom he gives no other proof but p. 5 of his Sermon, where he says, *We are satisfied, i. e.* of his being a Cheat.

If these Gentlemen (for whom, and in whose Name, this Author here speaks) had been so Good, or this Author for them, to have told us what Evidence they had to satisfie themselves in a Point so Important as this?

Now when all the sensible Men of *England* are fully satisfied to the contrary, *viz.* That the Prince of *Wales* was truly born of the Queen.

When

When it is no longer made a doubt of, nor endur'd to be mention'd at *Court* or *Parliament*, The but Questioning of it *is a stab at the heart of this Prince*, (says *the History of the Desert*, p.107.) you need not ask which *Prince* it is who does not love to hear of it? And who they are who press it to be heard and examin'd? For which I refer you to n.16. Append.

It is likewise well known, that this was but the tail of an old Plot, to say the same of any Son the Duke of *York* should ever have, of which n. 17. Appendix contains a Proof sufficient: And shews the indefatigable Pains of that *Phanatick, Republican, Hogan Mogan* Party, to render the *Bill of Exclusion* effectually servicable to the End for which it was intended.

This was thought to have been handsomly cover'd, when *Zuylestein* was sent over to congratulate the Birth of the P. of *Wales*.

Nay, he was publickly Prayed for as P. of *Wales* in her *Royal Highness* Chappel at the *Hague*, where Dr. *Burnet* himself did often Officiate.

To say that they did not believe him to be P. of *Wales* at that time, is to accuse them of such Atheistical Hypocrisy, making a mock of God in his solemn Worship, as would render them an abhorring to all Flesh.

To avoid this terrible Charge, you will be forced to acknowledge, That their *Highnesses*, and Dr. *Burnet* too, did not *then* believe the Reports of the Queens False-Belly; for they were spread abroad long before.

And what Evidence they have got since, besides these same Reports, is what the Nation wants to know, but are not like to be satisfied.

Nihil Dicit is confessing of Judgment.

Yet our Author says that he, and the *Irish Protestants* of his Party, are all satisfied (for those I suppose he means by the *We all* are satisfied) of the Imposture of the P. of *Wales*. And, by his Principles here laid down, their Proofs must exceed *Jealousies and Fears*, and be *so plain and evident as the Consciences of Mankind cannot but see, and be convinced of their Truth*. And then why should not he Produce them?

If he says, as I suppose he must, that he once thought it was *Evident*. So it was for some time thought by the Generality of the People of *England*, that the 3500 *Irish*, who

were disbanded by K. *James* before he went away, were about to Massacre all *England*, and had actually begun the Work, and the whole Nation was terribly allarm'd.

There is nothing so Ridiculous may not be put upon some People as *Plain* and *Evident* in some Junctures.

Earl of *Essex*. That the Earl of *Essex* was assassinated went down greedily with some sort of People, for a while; though People of sense did not then believe it, nor his Lady, as she declared to many noble Relations of his Lordship, and her own.

But now the Trick is all come out, and how that whole matter was managed. Mr. *Hook*, then Chaplain to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and who came over with him from *Holland*, wrote a Narrative of it at *Amsterdam*, as himself declared, for a Preparatory to their Undertaking. Another was wrote by Col. *Danvers*, and another at *Amsterdam*, and was taken in Col. *Danvers's* House in *London*. And they bragg'd how much Service it did in the *West*, and stirr'd up the People against K. *James*, and to join with the Duke of *Monmouth*.

A Committee of Lords was appointed since this Revolution to Rake into that matter again; but after long Sitting, and Examinations, could make nothing of it, and were forced to let it fall, I suppose now for ever.

Sir *Richard Haddock*, at present first Commissioner of the Navy, declared before the said Committee, That he saw the Earl of *Essex* lying in his Blood, and having considered the narrowness of the Place where he lay, and all other Circumstances, he could not have been so Murther'd by any but himself.

Braddon's Tryal it self is enough to Detect it to any unprejudiced Reader.

But that this Author may not be accus'd for proving of nothing that he says, he has undertaken to make out the *Grand League* before told; in the aforesaid Sermon, from a Letter of Bishop *Maloony's* to Bishop *Tyrrel*, which our Author has printed in the Appendix of his Book.

There, Page 363. Bishop *Maloony* is inveighing against K. *James's* Politicks, in trusting too much to the *English*, and seeking to please them, while he rejected the assistance which

which the *French King* offered him. *If the King of* France, ſays that Biſhop, *had not been too Generous, and too Chriſtian a Prince, were it not a ſufficient Motive for him to Reject the King in his Diſgrace, that upon thoſe rotten Principles Rejected his Alliance. This is that Alliance with* France (ſays our Author in his aboveſaid Sermon, p. 5.) *which* Maloony, *the Popiſh Biſhop of* Killaloo, *in a Letter of his to Biſhop* Tyrrel, *is ſo very angry that ſome Trimmers* (as he calleth them) *oblig'd King* James *to diſown.* Theſe *Trimmers* were the aboveſaid *rotten Principles*, as that Biſhop calls them, of truſting to the *Engliſh*. And theſe oblig'd King *James* to diſown ſuch an Alliance with *France* which he Rejected, and yet found that his People were allarm'd with the Report of it, which was deſignedly ſpread abroad.

And what Reaſon can this Author give why King *James* ſhould not diſown it, ſince there was no ſuch Thing? And that his Principle of truſting entirely to the *Engliſh*, and letting them know ſo much, ſhould oblige him to diſown an Alliance which he had Rejected, meerly out of his Confidence in them? This Biſhop *Maloony* ſays, And that *This fair Politick*, as he calls it, *hindered him* (King *James*) *from making up a Catholick Army that would ſtick to him, inſtead of a Proteſtant one that betray'd him; hindered him alſo from having any Succor from* France *offered him.* There is none here but knows that Succor was offer'd him *from France* againſt the Prince of *Orange*, and that he Rejected it. Now who would ever Gueſs that the aboveſaid *French League* could be prov'd from hence? From theſe Words of Biſhop *Maloony*'s Letter! which ſpeak the direct contrary. Yet this is all our Author's Proof, and he boaſts in it, and crys out, *This is the very Source and Fountain of all the preſent Calamities of* Europe, *but more particularly of ours.* Is not this Magnificent! This is a Hardineſs of no common Hero. To bring, without a Bluſh, the ſtrongeſt Objection againſt him, as an Argument for him. What better Proof could have been brought, to ſhew there was no ſuch League, than the Confeſſion of a Popiſh Biſhop, one of their Managers, in a Letter from *Paris* to his Correſpondent, another Popiſh Biſhop who was Secretary of State in *Ireland*, and which neither of them Deſign'd ſhould ever be ſeen by Proteſtants? Would they diſ-

ſemble, and not ſpeak their Thoughts freely to one another? Would they tell one another that King *James* had Rejected the *French Alliance*, if it were not ſo? Yet theſe very Words of this Biſhop, our Author brings to prove that there was ſuch an Alliance.

If you ſay, there is ſtill a *Jealouſy* of theſe Things. Our Author has barr'd that from being any Pretence againſt *the plain and certain Duty of Obedience to Lawful Governors.* Yet theſe our Author names among the Pretences for throwing off our Lawful Governors, as well in this Book, as in his ſaid Thankſgiving Sermon; which I ſhall have more occaſion to mention hereafter.

I only name this, to ſhew you his way of Arguing; and withal to tell you that they are ſuch Things, of which, he (at that Diſtance from Affairs, and his Correſpondence conſider'd) could have no other Account than from the common *News Letters*, and *Obſervators*, and ſuch ſmall Intelligencers. And yet he would put this upon us (who live nearer the Helm, and know the value of theſe *Coffee-houſe Papers*) as ſuch infallible Proofs, that it is not in our Power not to ſee, and be convinc'd of their Truth.

But this is no new Matter. It is the conſtant and never-failing Method in all Rebellions and Commotions of State. They all ſay their Grievances are *apparent* and *undoubted*: And generally the greater the Calumny, the Aſſeverations are the more *poſitive*, to make it be believ'd. *Machiavil* preſcribes, *fortiter Calumniare*, Beſpatter confidently; Throw much Dirt, ſome will ſtick.

Of King *Ch.* 1. and Archbiſhop *Laud*'s being Papiſts, &c.

How many in *England* were made believe that *Charles* the Firſt, and Biſhop *Laud*, were *Papiſts*? How many believe it ſtill? I refer this Author to a Pamphlet printed this Year, called, *A Letter from Major General* Ludlow *to Sir* E. S. *comparing the Tyranny of the firſt Four years of King* Charles *the Martyr, with the Tyranny of the Four years Reign of the late Abdicated King.* And there he will find King *Charles* made much the greater Tyrant of the two, the greater Invader of our *Laws* and *Liberties*, our *Properties*, our *Lives*; and that the Caſe is full as *plain* and *apparent* as that againſt King *James.* And he has printed two or three Vindications of it ſince.

There

There are many, very many, in *England* of that Opinion; and so positive in it, that they think all Men mad, or obstinately prejudic'd, who offer to deny it; or, in our Author's Words, they think that *the Consciences of Mankind cannot but see it, and be convinc'd of the Truth of it.*

Yet there are many who will not confess it, but think King *Charles* to have been a good Man, and a *Martyr*; and that he stood up more for the Laws, and Liberty of the Subject, than his illegal Murtherers, or Deposers; who offended more against the Law, and much more *apparently* by their Rebelling against him, than he did, if all they charg'd him with had been true. *Our Author himself was once of this Opinion.*

Never any Charge against a Government was averr'd to be more *apparent* and *undeniable* than that of *Dathan* and *Abiram* against *Moses*, (*Num.*16.13,14) where he was accus'd of *Arbitrary Government*, and *Breach of Promise*. It was as plain as the Nose on ones Face, as we use to say, as any Thing we see with our Eyes, that he might as well perswade them to disbelieve their Eye-sight, as not think him Guilty. *Is it a small Thing that thou hast brought us up out of a Land that floweth with Milk and Honey, to kill us in the Wilderness, except thou make thy self altogether a Prince over us? Moreover, thou hast not brought us into a Land flowing with Milk and Honey, or given us Inheritance of Fields and Vineyards: wilt thou put out the Eyes of these Men?*

Dathan and *Abiram* their Charge against *Moses.*

And besides this positive Assurance which they had, they likewise (as our Author) had the Faculty of improving a Breach of Promise, or an Arbitrary Design, into a Design against their very *Lives*. Because he disappointed them, as *they were very sure*, in their Inheritance in their Fields and Vineyards, and had a mind to make himself more Arbitrary, *altogether a Prince over them*, therefore they charg'd him with a Design to *kill them in the Wilderness*.

Now if People could be so impos'd upon by the Cunning of designing Men, as to believe the falsest and most notorious Untruths against *the best Governor as ever was in the World*, what Government can subsist upon our Author's Principles, which give a Latitude to every Man to try his hand

hand upon the ſoft part of the People? And if he can perſwade them into an ill Opinion of their Governors and cry it is *certain* and *notorious*, abſolves them *ipſo facto* from all Obedience to their Governors, from their *Oaths*, and all tyes of *Humane* or *Divine* Law, and ſo frees their *Conſcience*, which is the chief hold Government has upon Men. And what Evils that can be ſuffered from Government can be of ſuch deſtructive Conſequence to the People, as theſe looſe Principles, which unſettles them every Minute, and puts it in the Power of every *Boutefeu* to ſet the Nation in a Flame at his Pleaſure?

The Author's Diſtinction of Evil.

N. 3. of his Introduction was deſign'd to obviate this, its Title in the Heads of Diſcourſe is in theſe Words, *The Arguments of Paſſive Obedience from Reaſon and Scripture reach only Caſes where the Miſchief is Particular or Tolerable.*

Tolerable.

But this gives us no ſurer Marks than we had before. For what does he mean by *Tolerable*? If it be as much as a Man can bear. No Paſſive-Obedience-man can ſtretch it higher. Since no Man can bear more than he can.

Therefore he muſt mean, what a Man can bear *Eaſily*, or till he begins to think the Burthen to be *Intolerable*, that is *Hard to be born*, and then you may be ſure he will not let it grow too heavy for him.

And no Rebel in the World can deſire a greater Latitude than this. For whenever he ſays he is hurt, or has a mind to bear no more, then no more Paſſive Obedience.

Univerſal.

Thus much for the Word *Tolerable*. Now for the other Qualification, *viz. Particular*; that is, as he explains it, p. 3. *when the Miſchief is not Univerſal.*

Univerſal, may be either as to its *Tendency*; that is, where a Miſchief done to a particular Perſon may be a Precedent to have the like done to another, and another, and ſo till it comes to be *Univerſal*. And in this Senſe our Author will not allow that any Miſchief from a Government can be *particular*. If the King take one Man's Life or Property from him contrary to Law; this will not be call'd a *particular* Caſe, but the Caſe of the whole Kingdom. Thus Mr. *Hambden* conteſted his Aſſeſſment (which was about 20 Shillings) and brought on the whole Caſe of *Ship-money*, which embroil'd the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt. *Magdalen-College*

was

was not thought a *particular* Caſe, and did no ſmall Service againſt King *James* 2. In ſhort, all Miſchief is done to ſome *Particulars*, and *Univerſal* is but many *Particulars*: Therefore what is done to one, may be inferred to the reſt; and in this Senſe no Miſchief can be *Particular*. Will this Author ſay, that the Buſineſs of *Glenco* (n. 19. Appendix) was only a *particular* Miſchief?

On the other hand, if by an *univerſal* Miſchief, you mean where the Miſchief does, not only in its *Tendency*, but *Actually* affect the *Univerſal*, that is, the *whole* People. In this Senſe, it is not *Univerſal*, if *any part* of the People be Excepted. And then, according to our Author's own Rules, Paſſive Obedience takes place in all Caſes, except where the Government deſigns the Deſtruction of *the whole People*, that is, as *Grotius* has explain'd it, where the Governors are all ſuppos'd to be *mad*. Which has been ſpoke to already.

But not to take any Advantage of this (for no King, not *Nebuchadnezzar*, was ever ſo mad as to deſign the Deſtruction of his whole People) ſuppoſe a King to deſign the Deſtruction of *a part* of his People; Then the Queſtion will be, Whether it be greater Deſtruction to the People to run the hazard of this, under the Protection of God, while in Obedience to his Commands, rather than to raiſe a Civil War to Remedy this?

And our Author ſeems to anſwer this, n. 4. of his Introduction, which bears this Title. *A War not always a greater Evil than Suffering.*

Obſerve here the *Modeſty*, and withal the *Cunning* of our Author. He calls it *a War*; which is a general Word, and therefore may lead you off the Queſtion; which is not at all concerning *Lawful War*, as that may be betwixt Independent Princes, But concerning Subjects Levying War againſt the King, or the Government, under which they Live; which therefore is called *Rebellion*. And it is of this only that our Queſtion proceeds, *viz.* Whether *This*, or *Suffering*, be the greateſt Evil?

And our Author ſays, *It is not always a greater Evil than Suffering.*

This was Cautious indeed. It is not *always* ſo. But what if it be ſo *for the moſt part*? Is it therefore to be Choſen?

This,

This, or nothing, is our Author's meaning. He begins this, n. 4. p. 5. thus. If then *in ſome Caſes* the Miſchiefs of ſubmitting—— may be worſe— than a War—— which is begging the Queſtion, and point blank contrary to the Law of the Land, and which this Author has often ſubſcribed, *viz.* That ſuch a War (of Subjects taking Arms againſt the King) is not Lawful; *upon any Pretence whatſoever.* Which if it be true, then our Author's, *in ſome Caſes*, is but a Deceit. For the Law allows of *no ſuch Caſes*, nor *any Pretence whatever*, to take Arms againſt the King.

A Paſſage out of *Faulkner* miſapply'd.

One would think it pretty hard for our Author to get over this. He attempts it (but faintly,) c. 1. n. 8. p. 10. where he ſays, *That this may not ſeem a new Doctrine, I would have the Reader obſerve, that I only tranſcribe the learned* Faulkner, *&c.*

Why? Who ſaid it was a new Doctrine? Was that the Queſtion? No doubt, many have, and do hold it. In the next place, ſuppoſe you do tranſcribe *Faulkner*, will that excuſe you? You will not ſtand by all that *Faulkner* ſays in that Book, for you know no Man is more oppoſite to your *now* Opinion, if it be your Opinion. Why then do you Quote one part of him, if you will not believe another? For either he muſt contradict himſelf (and then his Authority cannot be great either way) or elſe you lay no value upon his Judgment, while you plainly diſpute againſt his Notion of Paſſive Obedience, which you cannot deny, and is viſible to every one that reads his Book, and I will ſhew you preſently when I come to examine his Quotations more at large.

But our Author has pick'd up this Sentence out of him. And though all the Words our Author quotes are in *Faulkner's* Chriſtian Loyalty, l. 2. c. 5. l. 2. n. 19. yet I muſt charge him with a falſe Quotation; for he leaves out ſuch Words, as plainly ſhew, that *Faulkner* does not ſet this down as his own Opinion, but only to follow upon a Suppoſition, which he Quotes out of *Grotius*, but does not ſay that he approves of it. *Grotius* thinks, ſays he, that *ultimo Neceſſitatis preſidio*, ſuch defence is not to be condemned—— *And if this be true*, ſays *Faulkner*, *it muſt be upon this Ground, that ſuch Attempts of Ruining*, do ipſo facto *include a diſclaiming the Governing of thoſe Perſons, as Subjects, and conſequently of being their*

their Prince or King; *And then the Expreſſions of our publick Declaration and Acknowledgment would ſtill be ſecured, that it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King.*

Thus *Faulkner*, as our Author quotes him; and all he ſays is, that upon the Suppoſition of a King diſclaiming the Government, and conſequently, ceaſing to be King, then though we do take Arms againſt him, we do not break the aboveſaid Declaration, of not taking Arms againſt the King, becauſe then he is no King. For a King that *diſclaims* the Government is no longer King; and, ſays *Faulkner*, if *Grotius*'s Poſition be true, it muſt be upon this Ground. But he does not ſay that *Grotius*'s Suppoſition is true. On the contrary, in the very next Words, as if it were confuting this Opinion of *Grotius*, he quotes an Authority againſt him, which is Biſhop *Bilſon* (whom our Author too quotes) for having ſet down this Opinion of *Grotius* with what he ſuppoſes to be the Ground of it, he immediately ſubjoyns a contrary Authority. *But Biſhop* Bilſon, ſays he, *ſpeaking of ſuch Popiſh Cruelties*, adds, *That if the Laws of the Land do not permit them to guard their Lives, when they are aſſaulted with unjuſt Force againſt Law, or if they take Arms, as you do, to depoſe Princes we will never excuſe them from Rebellion.* Thus *Bilſon*. as *Faulkner* there quotes him.

Now judge what reaſon this Author had to produce this Paſſage of *Faulkner*, and how ſore he was put to it, when he could find nothing elſe to ſay, to bring himſelf off from that Declaration, which, purſuant to the Law of the Land, he had ſo ſolemnly read in the Preſence of *God*, and *His Church*, in the Time of *Divine Service*.

The Evils of *Tyranny*, and of a *Civil War*, compar'd.

But leaving his *Quotations* to be Examin'd in their proper Place, Let us go on with him to the Merit of the Cauſe, to the *Reaſons* he has to offer, why ſubmitting to the *Tyranny* of our Lawful Governors is a greater Evil, than raiſing a *Civil War* in the Nation to prevent it; for that is the Caſe. And is the Explanation of what he meant above by *Tolerable* and *Univerſal* Evils. N. 3. p. 3. *viz. That we ought to bear only with* Tolerable *Evils from our Governors, or when the Miſchief is not* Univerſal; *or if it be* Univerſal, *where it is yet* Tolerable,

and not ſo miſchievous in the Conſequence as a Civil War. Thus our Author.

And indeed he has given advantage enough againſt him, in this Compariſon, which he advances of the Evils of *Tyranny* and *Rebellion*, or a *Civil War*, as he more gracefully Words it.

For do but bear with any *King*, and think nothing *Intolerable* from him, till he deſtroy as many as a *Civil War*,—— I will not take the full advantage of the Compariſon; Do but ſtay till he deſtroys the *thouſand* part as many, or bring ſuch *univerſal* Ruin and Devaſtation to the Kingdom, and I'll undertake there is no Paſſive-Obedience-man in the World but would conclude him as *mad* as *Nebuchadnezzar*, and no more to be obey'd than a Man Raging in a Feaver. So vaſt a Diſproportion there is 'twixt the Evils of *Tyranny* and *Rebellion*! So much is the *Remedy* worſe than the *Diſeaſe*! The Cruelty of a *Tyrant*, ſays one, is like a Clap of *Thunder*, it ſtrikes with great terror: But a *Civil War* is like an *Inundation*, which ſweeps down all before it without noiſe. Thus one Man brought upon the Scaffold by the Arbitrary Command of a *Tyrant*, makes more noiſe than Ten thouſand kill'd in the Field in a *Civil War*. But that does not make the Evil the leſs, but the greater, while we are made willing to deſtroy our ſelves: And do it more effectually in one day, than the bloodieſt Tyrant could find in Heart to do in his whole Reign. All the Men put to death by the Arbitrary Comm and of Tyrants ſince the beginning of the World, in all the Kingdoms of the World, will not amount to half the Number of thoſe who periſhed in the *Roman*, or the *Engliſh* Civil Wars: Thoſe who have periſhed within theſe Three years in *Ireland*, are many more than all the *Engliſh Tyrants* ever put to death. So much ſafer are we in God's hands, than in our own! In their hands where God has plac'd us; and though he often makes them, like the *Sun* and *Sea*, ſcourges for our Sin, yet he has promis'd to keep their hearts in his hand, and to turn them as ſeemeth beſt to him; we have more promiſe of Safety there, than when we are delivered over to *the Beaſts of the People*, whoſe madneſs *David* compares *the Raging of the Sea*. In ſhort, the

Prov. 21. 1.

Pſal. 68. 30.

Reſtraint

Reſtraint of Government, is the true *Liberty* and *Freedom* of the People; ſince if they were at Liberty from Government, they would be expos'd to one another, which would be the greateſt *Slavery* in the World. The great Miſtake is in the fooliſh Notion we have of *Liberty*, which generally is thought to conſiſt in being *free* from the Laſh of Government, as School-boys from their Maſter; and proves, in the Conſequence only a Liberty to deſtroy one another.

This Author's Remedy for Tyranny to kill half the Nation.

And yet to purchaſe this Liberty, our Author thinks it worth the while to cut the Throats of one half of the Nation. Theſe are his Words; *To loſe even half the Subjects in a Civil War is more tolerable than the loſs of Liberty.*

Here is a terrible Sentence! one half of a Nation cut down at a Blow! we muſt expect ſome very good Reaſon for this. He ſays, *An Age or two will repair the Loſs of Subjects—— But if Liberty be Loſt it is never to be retrieved.*

Now I thought the quite contrary to this had been true. That Men might be Reſcu'd from *Priſon*, but not from *Death*. That therefore *Liberty* might be retriev'd, but *Lives* never. He ſays, *An Age or two will repair the Loſs of Lives*; that is, *other Men* will live. But does that Retrieve thoſe that are Loſt? He may as well ſay, That I regain my Liberty, if another Man gets his Liberty. But he ſays, *If Liberty be loſt it is never to be retrieved.* Why then would he Sacrifice half the Nation to ſeek to retrieve it? He ſays, *It brings certain and infallible Deſtruction.* And will he contend againſt *Infallible* Deſtruction?

I would ask, whether he thinks the *Iriſh* Proteſtants did not looſe their *Liberty* under King *James*? If they did not, His whole Book is falſe. If they did, Has not K. *W.* *retriev'd* it? If not, Let him anſwer his Thanſgiving Sermon. But if K. *W.* has *retriev'd* their *loſt Liberty*, then his Poſition is falſe, *viz.* That *if Liberty be loſt it is never to be retrieved*: So far is it from being *certain* and *infallible*, as our Author aſſures us.

But let us ſee if we can find out the Reaſon of this ſtrange Aſſertion. And you have it not obſcurely hinted, in the Words immediately before; *viz. And indeed the greateſt Miſchief of a Civil War, is the Danger of ſubjecting the State to the*

Absolute Power of some potent General, as it happen'd at Rome, Florence, *and in* England, *in the late Civil War.*

This indeed is the Mischief and Danger of a Civil War. Since the same Power that enabled your Deliverer to Rescue you, will enable him also to keep the Power when he has got it. And who will not keep it, when it is in his Power? *As Oliver* did in the late *Civil War* of *England*, and happen'd in *Rome*, *Florence*, &c.

But now our Author has told us the *Disease*, he ought to have given us the *Remedy*, if he knows any. For you cannot take Arms against a *Tyrant*, but under the Command of some *General*. And then how do you know but he will prove a *Tyrant*? It is natural for Men to affect *Absoluteness*. Who Loves to be Controul'd? We must always be under the Power of some or other, and the effect of a Revolution is but Changing the Person; wherein you must run a Hazard; for as one said upon a certain occasion, *There is nothing so like as Two Kings.* And it is a terrible sort of a Cure, to slaughter half the Nation upon an Experiment, which our Author himself confesses to be very *uncertain*, or indeed *impossible*, to have any good Effect, if lost Liberty cannot be retrieved, but the Danger and the Mischief is certain. And our Author does not see a Remedy. It is the common Fate of these Rebellions for Liberty, to be made a Prey to their Deliverers: And then half the People must be destroy'd by a new Deliverer, to gain Liberty to the other half. And if they be mistaken in the Man, then half of the remaining half must go: And if they be mistaken again, then half of that half, and so on for ever. This is our Author's Receipt for Liberty. And he says, It is for the Good of the People.

Of which People? I beseech you, of those that are Kill'd to gain Liberty for the rest? But how do you compute the Good of the People? Is it not from the Major part? This Author, I have heard, is a good Mathematician, he cannot be mistaken Reckoning.

Now if half of the People be destroy'd, to purchase Liberty to the rest, here is no *Good* but *Hurt* done to the *People*: Because there is greater Hurt done to the one half of the People,

People, than the fancy'd Good can be to the other. I ſuppoſe our Author has not repreſented himſelf in his own mind, to be one of that half which was to be Deſtroy'd: But being one of the ſurviving half, he thinks it beſt the other half ſhould be Deſtroy'd, to purchaſe Liberty for thoſe that remain. But if this Experiment be repeated a a ſecond Time, and half of the remaining half be taken off, then there is no Compariſon, but this muſt be for the *Hurt* of the People. Eſpecially conſidering that this Principle opens a door to an Eternal Halfing them at this Rate. And we may ſee it by Experience where this Doctrine obtains, that that Country (I am ſorry *England* ſhould come into the Account) ſeldom enjoys a longer Reſpite from the Ruin of one Revolution, than to take breath, feed up, and fatten for another: And what can prevent it, where People are thus Diſciplin'd and Encourag'd to Rebellion? And have a never-failing Pretence given them to Kick when-ever they are Wanton? Nothing but a Miracle can ſtop them, till Ruin upon Ruin has humbled them, and convinc'd them by Demonſtration of the pernicious Conſequence of theſe looſe Principles of Government.

Plutarch, in the Life of *Timoleon*, tells, *That the Towns in* Sicily *would not truſt him, being lately over-run with Violence and Outrage, and exaſperated againſt all Leaders of Armies, for the ſake chiefly of* Calippus *an* Athenian, *and* Pharax *a* Lacedemonian *Captain, and the Miſchiefs they had ſuffered by their Treachery: For both of them having given out that the Deſign of their coming was to introduce* Liberty, *and depoſe* Tyrants, *they did ſo* Tyrannize *themſelves, that the Reign of former Oppreſſors ſeem'd a Golden Age, if compar'd with the* Lordlineſs *and* Exaction *of theſe pretended* Deliverers, *who made the* Sicilians *reckon them to be far more happy, that did expire in* Servitude, *than any that had liv'd to ſee ſuch a diſmal* Freedom. Thus *Plutarch.*

And *Lucan* reck'ning over the Miſeries of the *Civil Wars* of *Rome*, which were all for *Liberty*, envies the happy Condition of thoſe who live under *Abſolute Tyrannies*. He crys out,

Fælices Arabes, Mediique, Æaque Tellus
Quam ſub perpetuis tenuerunt fata Tyrannis!

I could

I could give 1000ds of Instances of the truth of this in all Nations; they are enow to make a History: And if a History were written of the Mischiefs of *Liberty*, and *Publick Good*, or *the Good of the People*, that is, what Mischiefs have been wrought in the World under the Pretence of *Publick Good*, the *Good of the People*, and asserting of their *Liberties*, I will undertake the Comparison, That more visible Mischief has come to the People, more Destruction of the *Publick Good*, and greater Loss of *Libery* and *Property*, by this one Method, than by all other Sins and Wickedness of Mankind put together: And consequently, that there is no Comparison 'twixt the Evils of *Tyranny*, and of a *Civil War* for *Liberty* and the *Publick Good*; and that the Mischief of this Pretence of *Publick Good* is infinitely less *Tolerable*, and a more *universal* Ruin to the *People*, than any *Tyranny* of Lawful Governors that ever was in the World. It is by many Degrees the Greatest and most *Lawless Tyranny* of the two; and always brings greater Evils, Confusion, Disorder, Rapin, Violence, Contempt of Laws, and Legal Establishments, more *intolerable* Mischiefs of all Sorts, than those it pretends to Remedy.

But of all Pretences for Rebellion, *Religion* is the most Ridiculous; because a Civil War introduces greater *Immorality*, loosens the Reins of *Discipline*, and is more contrary to the Spirit of *True Religion* than any other Thing in the World. True Religion is not Propagated by the *Sword*; It is a *small still Voice* that cannot be heard in War. It is built, like *Solomon's* Temple, without the Noise of a Hammer; War confounds it, and debauches it. The most Profligate and Licentious *Court* bears no Proportion in Wickedness to the *Lewdness*, *Blasphemy*, and *Contempt* of all that is *Sacred* which Reigns and Overflows in *Camps*. It was an old saying, *Nulla fides, Pietasq; viris qui Castra sequuntur*.

I desire this Author to make a just Computation betwixt the Godliness of the Protestant Army in *Ireland* this Revolution, and the common strain of Wickedness which was Practic'd there before by the People in time of Peace.

I have been told that this Author did express his just Indignation against the wild and bare-fac'd Debauchery of the Army, from his Pulpit in *Dublin*, so far as to say, It was come to that pass, that it was a Scandal for any Woman of Reputation

Reputation to be ſeen in Company with a *Red* or a *Blew* Coat; for which he incurr'd the heavy Diſpleaſure of the Sparks and Beau's in the Army; who practis'd all mad Lewdneſs and Prophanity with both hands earneſtly, with all their Strength and Power, with the ſame Zeal and Fervor that they Ruſht into the Battle. They thought the one as much their Duty as the other. Dr. *Gorge*, in his Letter from the Camp, (n.2. Appendix) tells us, That *they thought Religion but Canting, and Debauchery the neceſſary Character of of Soldiers.* And he had good Reaſon to know, being at that time Secretary to the General.

But the Caſe is notorious, all Men know it. The truth is, That Army has Debauched generally all that they have left alive in that Kingdom; and have left the Marks of their Wickedneſs as deeply imprinted in that Country as of their unbridl'd Violence, Plunder, Burning, and Deſtruction of Proteſtants and Friends as well as Enemies. This War has taught thoſe People Wickedneſs they never knew before; in compariſon, they never knew what Wickedneſs was before.

Now let us compute how *Religion* is ſerv'd by all this. The Spirit of *Atheiſm* is let looſe, and has overſpread all the Land; It is the Common-place of all our Men of Wit to run down and ridicule the *Holy Scriptures*, and all *Reveal'd Religion*, and this Publickly, in Coffee-houſes, every where, without any Reſtraint or Shame: So far from that, that they Laugh at and Deſpiſe all thoſe who pretend to believe the *Revelations* in the *Bible*, or that God ever ſpoke to any Man, or gave them any Law by *Moſes*, or any body elſe, other than by giving Men Wiſdom to invent good Laws, as *Solon*, *Licurgus*, or the like: And no other Account do they make of *Moſes*, or the *Prophets*, or of *Chriſt*.

I am ſorry to ſay it, that I am a Witneſs to the truth of this; if it needed any Witneſs, for it is notorious and univerſal, but more within theſe Four years, and more Publickly own'd, than ſince we knew the World.

In ſhort, we have loſt *Chriſtianity* both as to *Faith* and *Practiſe*. This is the Advantage *Religion* has gain'd by our *Wars*.

But

But all is no matter, so we beat down *Popery*. And yet Popery was never more Tolerated in *Ireland* than since the Conclusion of our War against Popery, even by the Articles and Agreements of the War. And how freely it is Tolerated in *England* we all know. Nay, it is taken ill if any call this a Religious War. Are we not Confederate with the most Bigot Popish Princes in Christendom? But we will keep *Popery* out of *England* for the time to come.

If it be by letting in *Atheism*, or *Socinianism*, it were better keep the old *Popery* still. This is the Method to reconcile Men to *Popery*, when they see you advance in its place Principles more *Antichristian* than it self, and introduce them by all the Wicked and Prophane Practises in the World.

To my knowledge several have turn'd Papists, and more are in danger, from the Scandal of this Revolution, the *Lewdness* of the *Army*, and base *Apostacy* of the *Clergy*, as they call it, have turn'd their hearts against us, they think we have no Religion. It may seem a Paradox, but it is true, That there have been more Converts to Popery in *England* these last Four years, than in the Four years before.

Indeed all that King *James* was a doing did prove to the Ruin of *Popery* in *England*: And if he had been suffer'd to go on, he had turn'd all *English* hearts, for ever, against it: So far were we from the Danger of *Popery* in his Reign. But now Men's Rage at *Popery* is abated, by seeing the very wicked Artifices have been used against it: I wish our Methods to keep it out do not bring it in.

It is a Rule that seldom fails, but never almost in *Religion*, That Civil War and Rebellion prove in the end to be the Destruction and Undoing of those good Things which are made the Pretences, and for the Preservation of which Men are perswaded to *Rebel*.

That is commonly the end of Reformations made by the Sword, especially of Subjects against their Sovereign.

And it is for such a Reformation as this, that our Author can give up the half of the Nation to the Slaughter. And all the Care he takes, is, *An Age or two will repair the Loss*

of

of Subjects. Murther will be a ſmall Sin upon this Account. It was counted a Tyrannical Expreſſion in the Prince of *Conde*, when one told him, That he expos'd his Men too much in the Storm of a Town; he replied, *There are as many Baſtards gotten in* Paris *laſt Night, as I ſhall looſe Men to Day.* But this was modeſt, by many Degrees, to the fierce Sentence of this Author. He had not time, in his Fury, to conſider the Reaſon God gives, *Gen.* 9. 6. why ſhedding of Man's Blood is ſo Grievous a Sin in his Sight, that he will require it from the Beaſts of the Field, much more from his Guilty Brother.

This Author makes nothing of deſtroying the Image of God; What is the Matter? Another Age will get more *Images.* This was ſpoke like a *Divine!* But, good Sir, there is ſomething elſe, which, if you would give me leave, I would preſume to mind you of, in your own Profeſſion, which is, The care of *Souls.*

Sir, in this Slaughter you make of *Bodies*, there will ſome *Souls* be loſt: And *an Age or two will not Repair that.* I am ſorry this did not come into your Conſideration. For in this Revolution which you ſuppoſe, and in which you are content to Sacrifice half the Nation (you reckon about the Number it coſt in your Country, as themſelves compute it.) In this Quarrel, Sir, you cannot ſuppoſe both Parties to be in the Right. There muſt be *Rebels* on one ſide or other.

And you uſed to tell us, That *Rebellion* was a *damning Sin.* And is it nothing, in your Account, to ſend half the *Souls* of the Nation to *Hell!* Are theſe the Bowels of a Spiritual Guide! Good God! Whether are we come! Here is no face of Chriſtianity! This is propagating Religion with the *Sword*, beyond the Principles of *Mahomet.*

But will an Age or two cure the Infection of univerſal Debauchery and Prophaneneſs which this Civil War has ſpread over the Face of *Ireland*, and in proportion of *Scotland* and *England*, where the Armies have come? Does this Author find it ſo eaſy a Task to remove all Lewdneſs and Prophanity where it has once taken root? Or to hinder it to Deſcend to the next Generation? And it is not only *this War*, but it has been obſerv'd of *War* in all Ages, that it deſtroys Men's Principles, takes them off all Foundations of

Sobriety, and inſtills a Diſſoluteneſs of Life, and an Inſenſibility and Diſregard of Religion, and of all Rules of Juſtice 'twixt Man and Man, moſt of any Thing in the World: And of all Wars, ſuch univerſal Corruption of Manners is moſt fruitful in a *Civil War*, and ſticks longeſt to our Poſterities; leaves Seeds of Animoſities, till one Revolution begets another, and entails *Blood* and *Deſtruction*, *Hatred*, *Treachery*, *Rebellion*, and *all Wickedneſs*, from Generation to Generation. And no Evils theſe can Cure, are ſo *Intolerable* as theſe.

This made ſome of our Foreſathers of ſo much a contrary Opinion to this Author, as to make it a Proverb, That the *worſt Peace* is more Eligible than the *beſt War*: However, from the Conſideration aboveſaid, of all Pretences, *Religion* is the moſt Ridiculous for a *Civil War*; becauſe a *Civil War* is more deſtructive to *Religion* than any Thing it can Remedy.

There is another Thing this Author has forgot, while he had his Eyes upon nothing but new *Bodies* of Men being rais'd up next Age, and ſo all the Evils of this to be done away. God has threatned to viſit the Sins of the *Fathers* upon the *Children* to the third and fourth Generation. *His Blood be on us and our Children*, (Matth. 27. 25.) lyes heavy upon the Jews to this Day.

And, Sir, that Ocean of Blood ſpilt in one of your Revolutions muſt lye at ſome door or other; And an Age or two will not do away the Guilt of this. I am afraid the Blood of *Charles* the Martyr, and all ſhed in that *Rebellion* againſt him, lyes ſtill upon theſe Nations. They cannot Repent, while they maintain the ſame Principles which rais'd that Rebellion. They are come to that, that they are not afraid, nor aſham'd publickly in *Print*, and in *Coffee-houſes*, to juſtifie that *Civil War*, as our Author would call it, againſt King *Charles* the Firſt. In this Years Almanacks, ſold about the Streets (*Partridge*'s Almanack for the Year 1692.) the 30th. of *January* is left out, with *Good-friday*, *Aſhwedneſday*, and other Superſtitious Days: And inſtead of theſe, he puts into his Chronology ſome of the black Aſperſions caſt upon King *Charles* the Firſt, as the Murther of King *James* the Firſt, and what he thinks were the Arbitrary Proceedings of his Reign, and ſetting up of Popery. And he reckons

as

as Feſtivals, the Succeſſes of the *Parliament* Army againſt the King; as the Battle at *Naſeby*, Fatal, ſays he, to the *Tories* and *Papiſts*, ſo he ſtyles the *Loyal Party*. He tells you of that King's *deſerting* his Parliament (which is as good as *Abdication*) of his *diſpenſing Judges*, &c. and Biſhop *Laud* being Beheaded for Treaſon againſt the *Nation*. That was the ſtyle of *Treaſon* in theſe days; and beſt lik'd ſtill, ſet up even by this Author, who gives Army, Treaſury, and all from the *King* to the *Nation*, as before is told. Theſe are ſmall Signs of Repentance. And therefore we have but ſmall hopes, that this Age is yet free'd from the Blood ſpilt the two or three laſt Ages. In which there is yet a farther Conſideration; and that is,

That Children may not only ſuffer Temporal Puniſhments for the Sins of their Fathers: But that Men may really make other Mens Sins their own, by Approving and Incouraging them; Nay, but by conſenting to them; as St. *Paul* reckon'd himſelf Guilty of the Murther of St. *Stephen*, becauſe he only held their Clothes who ſtoned him. *Thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy Neighbour, and not ſuffer Sin upon him*, or, *that thou bear not Sin for him*, as our Margent reads it. *Lev.* 19. 17. This is every Man's Duty: But eſpecially of the *Clergy*, who are appointed by God, *Watch-men*, for this very purpoſe. And if God will require at their hands the Blood of all the Souls that Periſh through their Negligence or Cowardiſe, in not warning them againſt their Sin, as we are expreſly told, *Ezek.* 33. What will become of thoſe *Clergy-men*? What will their Judgment be, who lead their Flocks by their Example to Sin? Who juſtifie and maintain their Sin? And imploy their Wit and their Learning to find out Diſtinctions and Salvoes, to keep their Flocks from Returning and Repenting? Who defend or palliate the Wickedneſs of former Ages, to give Countenance to the Crying Sins of this, That (as our Saviour told the Jews, *Matt.* 23. 35, 36.) all the Blood ſhed in all former Ages from *Abel* may come upon *this Generation*? Surely thoſe *Clergy* who plead for the Murthers and Rebellions of former Times, make themſelves more Guilty of that Blood than many of the Ignorant hands that ſhed it.

And thus we may not only bring upon our selves the Blood which we incourage other Men to spill in our own Time, and what has been spilt in former Ages, by our defending it; But we involve our selves more expresly in the Guilt of the Blood that shall be spilt to the end of the World, by the Influence of our Actions, or Writings: Because to incourage and contribute towards the committing of a Sin, is in some sort being the Author of it; at least, it is being Guilty of it in a nearer degree than only approving of it, when it is done.

These Considerations I earnestly recommend to this Author's second Thoughts; that he may have a view of the vast Sin he has run himself into, if his new Principles do not hold; The Blood that is, has been, or shall be spilt upon this Quarrel to the end of the World. Some conjecture, That the Reason of *Divis* being so importunate for the Salvation of his Brethren, was not out of Charity to their Souls, which is not suppos'd to be in damn'd Spirits; but because his Sufferings increas'd in Hell to the same proportion that his Example upon Earth incourag'd others to Sin, whereby we may suppose his Brethren to have been chiefly Infected. The Application I make, is, the Danger of transmitting any thing to Posterity in Writing, which may in the least favour any Sin, especially that of *Blood*, which crys till it be avenged.

And the greater credit our Author's Book has with some sort of People, the infection will be the greater, and he have the more to Answer for. Therefore he ought to be very sure that his Reasons are good, upon which he Pawns the Salvation of his own Soul, and of so many Millions.

With this Preparation I hope he will look again with an impartial Eye upon these Reasons he has produc'd, and consider, whether they will bear such a Weight, as he has laid upon them.

He says, p. 3. n. 3. *If we look into History we shall find the best, the happiest, and most prosperous People, most jealous of their Liberty, and while they continue firm in their Resolution of maintaining it against the Encroachments of their Governors, even with the hazard of their Lives, they have continued Great and Happy.*

This

This is but *saying*, instead of *proving*; and it is absolutely denied: You have seen the Opinion of a *Roman* and a *Greek*, *Plutarch* and *Lucan*, upon the Case; and many more are to be produc'd, to shew that *Rome* and other Countries were never so miserable as in their Contests for *Liberty* against their Governors. Among all of whom there is not a more pregnant and sad Example than that of *England*.

Nor will the Fate of *Holland* be an Exception from this Rule. Reckon first, their many years Civil War, and innumerable Slaughters which their own Histories relate were occasion'd by their Contests for *Liberty* against the Crown of *Spain*, to which they were then Subjects.

And they have liv'd since in almost continual War with all their Neighbors: They have been in daily danger of being swallow'd up, as by the *Sea*, so by *France* sometimes, and sometimes by *Spain*; and have been kept up chiefly as a ballance 'twixt contending Princes. It was but in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign that they stil'd themselves *the poor distressed States*; and it is but a very few Years since we saw *France* in possession of most of their Towns; and had been of all the rest, if King *Charles* II. had not interpos'd, and taken that critical Minute to rescue his Nephew the P. of *Orange* from that Contempt to which the States had reduced his Family; and they were forc'd to make him their *Stat-holder*, as the Condition of saving their Country.

Therefore we know not well how to compute the Success of this staggering Commonwealth, which is not yet an *hundred* years old, and owes its Life to the Contention of its Neighbours; and by Foreign Wars secures Peace at home, which lasts no longer than they can have leisure and time to worry one another, and shew the natural Effects of *Popular* Government, which was worthily celebrated in *Mobbing* the *De-Wits*, and will shew it self again when there shall be occasion.

But notwithstanding of all this, our Author will allege, that they had reason to take Arms, rather than pay those unreasonable *Gabels* and *Taxes* which were impos'd upon them by their King. To which I will now only say, That they have paid much greater Taxes to their *Deliverers* than to their *Kings*.

But

But they fought for *Religion* as well as *Taxes*; and they have got what they fought for, for they pay the *greateſt Taxes* in the World, and they have got *all Religions* in the World. Their *Church* is calculated for nothing but the Advancement of *Trade*, and therefore has no other Authority than the *States* pleaſe to allow; no more than a Company of *Taylors*, *Weavers*, or any other *Society* ſet up by the *State*. Their *Clergy* are only Tools which the *State* makes uſe of for the better ſupport of Temporal Government: They may be call'd a *Corporation* or *Committee of Religion*, but do not deſerve the name of a *Church*, who can forfeit their *Charter* to the *State*, and are diſmiſſable by them at their pleaſure. *Eraſtus* rather than *Calvin* was Moderator of theſe *Aſſemblies General*. I would gladly have our Author's Opinion upon this Point.

He will perhaps ſay, That they grow rich, and thrive by theſe means. No, it is not by theſe means; but their *Scituation*, *Soil*, and other Circumſtances, forces them to *Induſtry*; they muſt *work*, *ſtarve*, or *drown*: and God has brought them under that happy Neceſſity, to ſhew the World an Example of the great value and force of *Induſtry*, how much it *alone* can do, *without the aſſiſtance of any other Vertue*. Therefore their Caſe will not be a Rule to other Nations.

But our Author ſays, That *at this day*——*we ſhall find every Nation Happy and Thriving*——*according as they have preſerved themſelves from Slavery*. He means *Ireland*, of which he writes, which at this day has glorious Effects of *Happineſs* and *Thriving* to ſhew, being reduc'd to a *Wilderneſs* from a *Noble* and a *Plentiful* Countrey, and *one half* of the Souls in it are *Periſhed*, and *all Impoveriſhed*, upon the Pretence of *Preſerving themſelves from Slavery*. He ſays, All Countreys under unlimited Monarchies decay in their Strength and Improvements. By this he means *poor France*, and the *Eaſtern Monarchies*, whence we bring all our Riches. But ſuppoſe it were granted, That *France* has decay'd in Strength ſince its King grew *Abſolute*, and that there were no *Riches* in the *Indies*; yet the Subjects of theſe Abſolute Monarchs are free from *Civil Wars*: *Rebellions* are rare among them; they enjoy *Peace*, which alone outweighs all the Pleaſure of Riches, if Civil War and Diſſention

tion go along with them; as *Solomon* ſays, *Better is an handful with quietneſs, than both the hands full with travel and vexation of ſpirit.* Eccleſ. 4. 6. *Better is a Dinner of Herbs, where Love is, than a ſtalled Ox, and hatred therewith.* Prov. 15. 17. Riches are a *Bleſſing*; they may be likewiſe a *Curſe*; *A mans Life conſiſteth not in the Abundance of the things which he poſſeſſeth.* Luke 12. 15. *Peace* and *Quietneſs* are more valuable than *Riches*; for Riches, *without them*, afford little ſatisfaction: and it were better be *Poor*, than to have *Riches* to ſerve only for a ground of *Debate*; or that Plenty ſhould make us *wanton*, ſo as to kick againſt our Governors, and devour one another: therefore till you can free your Principles of *Liberty* and *Freedom*, as you call 'em, from this main Objection of being an Inlet to *Civil War* and *Confuſion*, even *Slavery* and *Beggary* will be preferable to *them*, in the judgment of wiſe men, and of all that are not mad and intoxicated with the mere Name and Sound of *Liberty*, tho the Effects of that prove the moſt *abſolute* and *miſerable Slavery* in the World; who think there is no *Liberty* but in being free from Government, tho they are thereby expoſed to the *Lawleſs* and *Arbitrary* Attempts of their *Equals* and *Inferiors*: but this they think nothing of, ſo they may not be under their *Lawful Superiors*.

Theſe are occaſional Obſervations of this Author, who would have you believe them without examining. I haſten to give you a further view of his ſtrain of Argumentation.

You have ſeen already the bent and force of all his Arguments; *viz.* That a King who does *deſign* to deſtroy *one part* of his People, does thereby *Abdicate* the Government of thoſe whom he *deſigns* to deſtroy. But King *James* had this *Deſign* againſt the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, *ergo*, he proves that King *James* had this Deſign, *Chap.* 2. whoſe Title is, That *King* James *deſign'd to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion.* Now I ſay this is no Conſequence; for he might deſign to root out the *Proteſtant Religion*, but not to deſtroy the *Perſons* of the Proteſtants; which is the foundation upon which this Author builds all his Arguments. All Governments ſet up ſome Religion as the Eſtabliſhed Religion of their Country, and there are none which are in earneſt with Religion but would wiſh all others to be of their Religion: but that therefore they would *deſtroy all* who will not be of their Religion, is

Seventh Reaſon. Deſtroying our Religion.

our

our Author's Conſequence; which if it fail, there is no Argument in his Book.

England, no doubt, would gladly rid it ſelf of *Popery*; to which end, it is made *Treaſon* to turn *Papiſt*; and their *Prieſts* are baniſhed upon pain of *Death*; and the Law debars *Papiſts* from Places of Truſt, and many Advantages which the other Subjects freely enjoy: But that therefore the Government intends to *cut the Throats* of all the *Papiſts* in *England*, or thoſe that have now ſubmitted in *Ireland*, and therefore has *Abdicated* the Government of them, is the Author's Doctrine, which would be needful for him to explain; for Reaſon is Reaſon in *England* and in *Ireland*; and whoever ſhould advance ſuch an Argument in *England*, I'm confident would be looked on by the Government, not only as a very weak and inconſiderable Reaſoner, but that he ought to be animadverted as an invidious, ſeditious, and Treaſonable Incendiary, who by this means endeavoured to render the Government odious, and ſtir up the Subjects to Rebellion.

The ſame Argument will juſtifie what *Dundee* and the *Highlanders* have done in *Scotland* againſt the Preſent Government: and it will juſtifie the *Epiſcopal* Party there, if they ſhould take Arms every day, in oppoſition to the preſent Settlement of that Kingdom. By the publick printed Accounts of the *Perſecution* and violent *Rabbling* of the *Epiſcopal* Miniſters and others of their Principles, they have ſuffered more from the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, than even this Author was afraid of from King *James* in *Ireland*.

But not only the *Papiſts* in *England*, and *Epiſcopal* Party in *Scotland*, and the preſent *Papiſts* in *Ireland*, may juſtifie their taking Arms againſt the Preſent Government when they pleaſe; but the *Iriſh* Papiſts in 41 might have juſtified their Rebellion againſt King *Charles* I. by this Author's Principles, which do indeed juſtifie all the Rebellions that ever were in the World, or all that can be invented; for none can want ſome of the Pretences which he allows for Rebellion.

But eſpecially it gives full Liberty to all *Diſſenters* in *Religion* to take Arms againſt the Government; but more plainly if the Government ſhut them out from Places of Truſt and Profit; for ſuch a jealouſie of them, may eaſily be improved into a Deſign for their *Deſtruction*. But if any *Penal Laws* be

be made againſt them, then the Deſign is *apparent* ; it goes beyond a Deſign; it is a real Attempt upon them, actually aſſaulting them, *&c.*

But of all things, How could the *Iriſh*, who adhered to K. *James* be made Rebels to K. *William* before they ſubmitted to him? How could this be done by our Author's Principles?

If you ſay he had Title to *Ireland*, by being King of *England*, becauſe *Ireland* is but an Appendix to the Crown of *England*: Anſwer; But *from the beginning it was not ſo*; and the Government of *England* being diſſolved (as you ſay) by *Abdication*, and returned back to the ſuppos'd *Original Contract* or *firſt Right* of *Mankind* to erect Government for their own Convenience; of conſequence the Tye which *England* had upon *Ireland* by *Conqueſt* was diſſolved, and *Ireland* left as well as *England* in their ſuppos'd *Original Freedom*, to chuſe what Government and Governours they pleas'd. But all this notwithſtanding, this Author's Principles freed them from K. *William* becauſe of the Preſumptions they had to think, that K. *William intended* to invade their *Property*, *Lives* and *Religion*. He declared that he came to Eſtabliſh the *Proteſtant* Religion. By his Declaration of Grace, 7 *July* 90, he pardons none, either as to *Life* or *Eſtate*, but only *Poor Labourers*, *Common Souldiers*, *Country Farmers*, *Plow-men* and *Cottiers*, and ſuch *Citizens*, *Townſmen*, *Tradeſmen*, and *Artificers*, who ſhould return by the 1ſt of *Auguſt*: and even theſe were to forfeit all but their *perſonal Chattels*, as you will ſee in the Declaration, N. 6. Appendix. And by the publick Reſolution of his Judges 21 *Nov.* 90. (which you will ſee in the Appendix N. 7.) very few had hopes left them either of *Life* or *Eſtate* even upon their ſubmitting to King *William*, and living peaceably under his Government, purſuant to his Declarations: And I am told that thouſands of them are out-law'd ſince they ſubmitted to his Protection, notwithſtanding of the many fair Promiſes which were made to them afterward upon ſeveral Occaſions; particularly, General *Ginckle*'s Proclamation printed at *Dublin*, 4 *Feb.* 90. wherein he aſſures the *Iriſh Papiſts*, in their Majeſties Names, that all of them who would ſubmit to their Majeſties Government ſhould be protected as to their *Religion*, *Eſtates* and *Liberties*.

Theſe following Words, are *verbatim* the Words of that Proclamation; viz. *Their Majeſties hereby giving demonſtration*

to the World, that it is not their Design to oppress the Inhabitants of this Nation, either by persecuting *them for their* Religion, Ruining *them in their* Estates *and* Fortunes, *or* Enslaving *them in their* Liberty. These are the Words of that Proclamation: which have not hinder'd the multitude of *Out lawrys*, and other Proceedings and Forfeitures against those *Irish* who submitted to the Government. As to their *Religion*, they do not complain but that K. *William* has been very Gracious to them; and they enjoy it in more ample Manner than ever they had it under any *Protestant* Prince: But as to their *Persons*, *Estates*, and *Liberties*, they cry out heavily of Breach of *Publick Faith*, and Great *Oppression*.

If our Author had the improving of these and other their Circumstances, how easily could he argue them into the lawfulness of taking Arms for their Defence? But if the Argument of *Glenco* were on his side, no doubt, he would summon the Nation to rise as one Man, and would *Abdicate* all the Governments in the World. It is well for the Government that this Author is not touched by the late Act imposing the Oaths in *Ireland*; the Refusal of which is no less than *Premunire*, which does not only invade your *Property*, but makes you uncapable of having any Property at all, so much as to the Cloaths upon your Back; or ever to breath the common Air out of a *Jayl*; and none above eighteen years of Age, no not *Women* of any sort, *Maids*, *Wives*, or *Widows*, are exempted. What Declamations could our Author make upon this! How far would he make this exceed the *French Dragooning*, or even the *Spanish Inquisition!* if he had such a Handle against King *James!*

Some Instances of the Author's manner of Argumentation.

I have heard from some who are acquainted with this Author, that he is a Man of good Reason. But in this Book, I must say, that his Zeal has transported him, to take that for Reason which is the fartherest from it in the World; and which it is impossible he should think to be so, in any other Case.

C. 3. f. 8. n. 6. p. 102. He tells how *Derry* shut its Gates against the Earl of *Antrim's* Regiment: And n. 7. p. 103. he proves they were *obliged to do thus by their Foundation*; and names the Charter granted by K. *James* I. One would wonder how the King should grant a Charter to oppose himself. The Author's Reason is, That this Town was *founded to be a Shelter and Refuge for Protestants against the Insurrections and Massacres of the Natives.*

The

The *Natives* had before that time made frequent *Rebellions*, and *Derry* was built as a Security againſt *them*; therefore our Author thinks, that if ever it ſhould ſo happen, that the *Proteſtants* ſhould turn *Rebels*, and the *Natives* be *Loyal*, the King's Charter was meant to ſupport the *Proteſtants* in their *Rebellion!* This is too extravagant to need Confutation.

C. 3. ſ. 12. n. 16. p. 154. He inlarges upon the Reaſons they had in *Ireland*, as well as in *England*, to dread *Papiſts* in a Parliament; and grounds his Argument from Q. *Mary*'s Houſe of Commons; which was not well thought on for his Purpoſe; for though that Parliament did overturn the *Proteſtant Religion*, and ſet up *Popery* in its place; yet the *Proteſtants* of *England* thought it their Duty, for Conſcience ſake, to ſuffer Martyrdom under thoſe cruel Laws, rather than to take Arms againſt their *Popiſh* Governours.

It is a Topick as ill choſen, which he urges in the third Paragraph of n. 18. of the ſame Section, p. 160. where the Argument he uſes to cure the Folly of thoſe *Jacobites*, who were Attainted in the Act of Attainder in *Ireland*, and notwithſtanding that Provocation continue *Jacobites* ſtill, is not from Principles either of *Honour* or *Conſcience*; but that if K. *James* come again, they were not to hope for *Pardon* or *Preferment*. This is ſuppoſing them to Act out of no other Conſideration but temporal Advantage; which is ſo great an Imputation, that it ought to have been proved before it was ſuppoſed; but as to the Author's Argument it ſeems to operate point blank contrary to that for which he brings it. For if that Act of Attainder is ſo worded as that it is not left in K. *James*'s Power to pardon any who are thereby Attainted, as our Author tells us, and conſequently that theſe *Attainted Proteſtants* can have no Security for their *Lives*, much leſs of *Preferment*, under K. *James*; this would ſeem to argue that it cannot be *Temporal Intereſt* which guides theſe Men, or elſe they muſt be very great Fools indeed!

C. 3. ſ. 17. n. 7. He argues that K. J. claim'd a *Deſpotick Power* over the Church, becauſe (the Biſhop being fled) he appointed a Chancellor in the Dioceſe of *Dublin* (who this Author confeſſes went no further than the Probate of Wills) after *he had taken away the Oath of Supremacy by an Act of his pretended Parliament*.

The Argument from the taking away of that Oath has been conſider'd already. But I was much ſurpriz'd to ſee this Author give

give such a handle to K. *J.* to Retort upon K. *W.* that he and his Pretended Parliaments after abrogating the Oaths of *Allegiance, Supremacy, &c.* had by their meer *Lay-Authority* Depriv'd the *English* and *Irish* Bishops and Clergy, and overthrown *Episcopacy* it self in *Scotland*. *If K. J. had done any thing like this!*

And this Au hor will not allow the Depriv'd Bishops to retain so much as the Character or Title. See with what Insolence he speaks, in the same place, of the Lord Bishop of *Galloway*. *He* (K *J.*) *appointed* (says our Author) *one* Gordon, *who call'd himself Bishop of* Galloway *in* Scotland, *to be Chancellor in the Diocese of* Dublin: *This* Gordon *was a very Ignorant Lewd Man, and a profest Papist*—— Which was notoriously false (if we may believe the *Irish Protestants* whowere then in *Dublin*) for this Bishop was then, and all along, a *Profest Protestant*; and, as I have heard, a Man of Learning and Parts.

But if he had been a *Papist* (whether in Masquerade or otherwise) I would gladly know this Author's Opinion, Whether that would have *Un-Bishop'd* him?

Had he been Consecrated in a Flagrant *Schism*, and by those who took Part with and Communicated with the *Schismaticks*, and consequently were such themselves, there had been Ground indeed to Question the Validity of his Orders, and call'd him a *Pretended* Bishop. But this Author is in Justice oblig'd to shew upon what account he laid so Great an Imputation upon the Lord Bishop of *Galloway*; and to shew his own Principles in this most Important Point, upon which he bestows up and down such Loving Glances, but will not speak out.

You have now seen the Manner and the Strength of this Author's way of *Reasoning* upon the Subject in hand, of which many more Instances might be given; but I would not detain you.

This Author's defence of his Principles from Authority.

We come now to the next Head; that is, his *Quotations* and *Authorities*, wherein I will begin with the *Scriptures*.

First, from the Scriptures.

And here I must confess he is very modest, he says no more than that he is *Apt to believe* that the Reasons given for *Non-Resistance* from *Scripture* reach only *Tolerable* Evils. Introduct. n. 3. p. 3. but he does not answer, nor so much as name any of Those Texts, which he knows are urged for *Non Resistance*.

Only at the end of this n. 3. p. 4. he brings a Comparison betwixt the Command for observation of the *Sabbath*, and that of *Obedience to Governors*, and says, there was a *Tacit Exception* in the Command of the *Sabbath* for Works of Necessity

ceſſity and Mercy; and therefore infers, that it may be ſo too in the Command *for Obedience to Governours*, though the Command be in general Words, without any Exception, expreſſed. *It being as true*, ſays he, *That Governours were made for their Kingdoms, as the Sabbath for Man.*

This I freely grant him, That *Governours* were appointed by God *for the good of the People*; not that the *People* were created merely for the Pleaſure of a *King*, or a *Parliament*, or any other Governours.

But then I muſt ſay likewiſe, from the Reaſons which have been partly told above, that it is for the good of the People, not to have that Latitude left them of Riſing up in Arms againſt their Lawful Governours upon any pretence whatſoever: becauſe firſt, ſuch Pretences will never be wanting, nor malicious and deſigning Inſtruments to ſet them on foot; and ſecondly, a *Civil War* is of ſo much more miſchievous Conſequence to the People than any Male-Adminiſtrator can be, or ever was in any Government.

Next I ſay to our Author's Argument from the *Sabbath*, that there is Exception in the Scripture for Works of Mercy to be done on the Sabbath-day; and our Saviour has expreſly determined it, as our Author confeſſes. Now let our Author produce any Exceptions in Scripture from the general Command of *Obedience to Governours*, and they will be allow'd; otherwiſe this Inſtance is nothing to his purpoſe. There is an Exception likewiſe as to *Marriage*, in the Caſe of Fornication; but what is this to any other Caſe ſave that of *Fornication*? or to any other general Command which has no Exception or Countermand in the Scripture?

I will have Mercy rather than Sacrifice, ſays the Scripture: Here is ſufficient Authority to prefer *Mercy* to *Sacrifice*, and it is an Exception from the general Command of *Sacrifice*. Let the like be ſhewn as to *Government*, in any of the Inſtances which the Author produces, and we have done.

But let us conſider what that *Mercy* is which the Author would recommend to diſſolve Government: He has told us in the ſame Page, *to ſlaughter even half the Nation in a Civil War for Liberty*. This we have examined already; and this is the tacit Exception he would have us ſuppoſe in the Com-

mand of Obedience to Government as well as in that of the Sabbath.

That of the *Sabbath*, is no *tacit* Exception; for though it be not expreſſed in the Fourth Commandment, yet it is in other Scriptures. But the Exception our Author would have to be of the Fifth Command is *tacit* indeed; for there is neither Precept nor any approved Example of it in all the Scripture, but many of both to the contrary; which are ſo well known and largely treated of in many Books upon that Subject, that I will not take up your time in ſetting them *principally* down here.

His ~~Precepts~~ diſproved from Scripture.

I will only give you ſome few Examples which may anſwer to the very *Hypotheſis* our Author ſets up; *viz.* the Suppoſition of a King *deſigning to deſtroy one main part of his Subjects, in favour of another whom he loves better*, and of ſubmitting only to *tolerable* Evils, *&c.* which you have heard already.

1. The Jews in Egypt.

The firſt Inſtance I give is that of the *Jews* in *Egypt*; they were about the ſame time under *Egypt* that *Ireland* has been under *England*, that is, 'twixt four and five hundred years: but with this difference, that the *Engliſh* came into *Ireland* by *Conqueſt*, whereas *Iſrael* was invited into *Egypt* by their King: and it was but a due return of Gratitude from him; for *Joſeph* had miraculouſly ſaved *Egypt* from the common Deſtruction which befell the Nations about, and made it the Granery of the World, and the richeſt Nation upon the Earth at that time. The *Jews* were a different People from the *Egyptians*, as the *Iriſh* from the *Engliſh*; of different *Manners*, *Religion*, *Intereſt*. They did not live mixed with the *Egyptians*, nor under their Laws, as the *Iriſh* do with the *Engliſh*, but had the Land of *Goſhen* aſſigned them peculiar to themſelves. They lived more like an *Independent* People than the *Iriſh*, yet they ſuffered the greateſt Oppreſſion from their King that ever was in the World. His Deſign to ruin them was *apparent*, deſtroying their very Children; and they had given no manner of Cauſe or Provocation on their ſide. They durſt not offer Sacrifices to the Lord without apparent danger of being ſton'd to death: ſo that they were oppreſſed moſt Tyrannically in their *Religion* as well as their *Perſons*, which were condemned to the Brick-kills. They were able

to

to have delivered themſelves, being an Army of Six hundred thouſand Men, beſides Children, and a great mix'd Multitude. Exod. 12. 37. *And though God himſelf ſent* Moſes *to deliver them from that Servitude, yet* (it is the peculiar Obſervation of the whole *Convocation* of the Church of *England*, and they ſay it is not to be omitted but that we take notice of it, That) *God would not ſuffer* Moſes *to carry the Jews out of* Egypt *till* Pharaoh *their* King *gave them leave to depart. Afterwards alſo, when the Jews being brought into ſubjection to the Kings of* Babylon, *did, by the Inſtigation of falſe Prophets, Rebel againſt them, they were in that reſpect condemn'd by the Prophet* Jeremy; *and in all their Captivity (which ſhortly after followed) they lived, by the Direction of the ſaid Prophet, in great ſubjection and obedience; they prayed not only for their Kings, and their Children, that they might live long and proſper, but likewiſe for the State of their Government; the good Succeſs whereof they were bound to ſeek and regard, as well as any other of the Kings moſt dutiful Subjects, and thus they lived in* Babylon, *and other Places of that Dominion, till the* King *gave them leave to depart; notwithſtanding in the mean time they endured many Calamities, and were deſtitute for many Years of the Publick Worſhip and Service of God, which was ty'd to the Temple, and might not elſewhere be practiſed or attempted.* Thus Biſhop *Overal's Convocation-Book*, c. 28. p. 58. 2. In Babylon.

Theſe Jews were finally Deſtroy'd, their *Temple* Burn'd, and *City* Razed by the *Romans*, and thoſe that eſcaped of them diſpers'd over the face of the Earth, in Slavery and Servitude, like a curſed Generation; and all this fell upon them, (the ſame *Convocation Book* teaches us, c. 33. p. 77.) not only for their obſtinacy againſt Chriſt and Crucifying of him; but that the *immediate and apparent* Cauſe of it was, their obſtinate *Rebellion* againſt the Emperors of *Rome*, their then Lawful Governors. 3. Under the Romans.

This Hiſtory of the *Jews* from their Servitude in *Egypt* to their Deſtruction by the *Romans*, will, in every Circumſtance, more than over-ballance the parallel of the *Iriſh* Nation under the *Engliſh*.

You ſee how God bleſſed the *Jews*, *protected* and *delivered* them when they ſubmitted to their Lawful Princes, who *deſigned*, *attempted*, and almoſt *effected* their *Deſtruction* and *Extirpation*. And on the other hand, with what Fury poured out,

out, he visited their *Rebellion* against their Lawful Governors, though for the Preservation of their *Religion*, *Liberty*, *Property*, and their very *Lives*.

4. Under Ahasuerus. Who does not know the utter *Extirpation* and *Massacre* of the *Jewish Nation*, not only *design'd* but *expresly ordered* by *Ahasuerus*? And that the Jews would not take Arms in their own Defence, till they had the King's Letters and Commission, *wherein the King granted the Jews to gather themselves together, and to stand for their Life.* Esth 8.11.

And the Glorious Effect of this, for the Advantage of the Jews, every one has read.

5. The Gibeonites. I might instance here too the Case of the *Gibeonites*, whom *Saul* sought to destroy, after their being 400 Years under the Government of the *Jews*, or Incorporated into one People with them, as the *Irish* are with the *English* in *Ireland*: And their Case was exactly what the Author puts, *viz. of a King's designing to destroy one People under his Government in favour of another, whom he loves better*; for the Text 1 Sam. 21.2. tells us, That *Saul sought to slay the Gibeonites in his zeal to the Children of Israel and Judah*, and that he *consumed them*, Ver. 5. and *devised* against them, that they should be *destroyed*, from remaining in any of the Coasts of *Israel*.

6. Our Saviur Christ. But to come down to *Christianity*; *Christ* came with a Commission to form a *Society* called after his own Name, *distinct* and *Independent* from all other *Societies* and *Governments* in the World. Of different *Religion*, *Manners*, and *Interest*; Living under different *Rules* and *Governors*.

Primitive Christians. Assoon as they appeared, all Kings and Governors fell upon them to root them off from the face of the Earth, and Persecuted them with all the Violence and Rage that Hell could suggest, and Slaughtered them in Multitudes in most Barbarous and Savage manner.

Now what were these *Christians* to do, to preserve themselves? Were they to take Arms against their Governors, who thus apparently sought their Ruin, in favour of other of their Subjects whom they loved better?

No: They were totally barr'd from that, and if any so so much as sought to save his Life *by such means*, he should not only lose it here, but his Soul hereafter. *Damnation* was preached to those who *Resisted* their *Lawful Governors*. Did they

they judge, with our Author, that their Perſecuting Kings had *Abdicated* the Government of thoſe whom they deſign'd to deſtroy?

No; they were taught to own them as God's *Repreſentatives*, his *Deputies*, and *Miniſters*, and as ſuch to obey them, with all Reverence, not only for *Wrath* but alſo for *Conſcience* ſake; and that not only to the *Good* and *Gentle* but even thoſe who *Perſecuted* them for *Well-doing*. And they were to take it patiently without *Reviling* or *Threatning*. Rom. 13. 1, 5. 1 Pet. 2. 18, 20, 23.

And this was not for want of Power to do otherwiſe (it is in any Man's Power to *Revile* and *Threaten*) but for *Conſcience ſake*.

Their *Maſter* was ſtronger, and commanded more Armies than all their Enemies. And this Author knows very well that *Tertullian* in his Apology for the Chriſtians told the Emperor, *Non Deeſſet nobis vis Numerorum*; that it was not for want of Power, or Numbers, that the Chriſtians did not defend themſelves againſt him, for they fill'd his *Armies*, his *Cities*, his very *Court*, but that it was from the Principles of their Religion, which would not allow them to take Arms againſt their Lawful Emperor, though a Perſecutor. But I need not mind my Author of this, he has taught it often, and zealouſly. He knows the Hiſtory of the *Thebean Legion*, and a Thouſand Examples of this Caſe that are never to be anſwered, upon his *new* Principle, which runs contrary to the Hiſtory of the Church both under the Law and Goſpel, and God's own Determination, in the very Caſe this Author puts for the moſt Advantage of his Cauſe.

As the Scripture, ſo our Author named the *Homilies*; he quotes nothing out of them, it was not beſt. He ſays, *They preſs with great force the Inconveniencies of ſuch a War, that is, a Civil War*, for *Liberty* or *Religion*. And that the Author of *Jovian* deſign'd his Firſt Chapter to ſhew, *That* Reſiſtance *would be a greater Miſchief than* Paſſive Obedience; and tells us in the Body of the Chapter, *That the Inconvenience of Reſiſting the Sovereign would be of ten times worſe conſequence than it*; which our Author confeſſes, *in the general is true, as it relates to private Injuries, or the Ordinary Male-adminiſtration of Government*. Our Author's defence of himſelf from *Jovian*.

This has been ſufficiently Anſwered in what is ſaid before; but as to the *Authorities* he quotes, I cannot but obſerve to you with Admiration, how directly contrary they are to the uſe for which he has vouched them. That Chapter he cites of *Jovian* is ſo far from ſtinting Non-Reſiſtance to *relate only to private Injuries, or the ordinary Male-adminiſtration of Government*, that in the very beginning of that Chapter, after he has told what *Sovereignty* is, he makes it *eſſential to the Rights of Sovereignty to be free from Reſiſtance*, or *forcible Repulſe*, and to be *unaccountable:* It is Pag. 241. of the Book, where he proves that if it were otherwiſe, *It would make the Subjects Judge over the* Sovereign, *and in effect deſtroy* Sovereignty, *and make the Sovereign inferior to the People*; *and therefore*, ſays he, pag. 242. *to cut off all Pretences of Reſiſtance in the Engliſh Government, the Three Eſtates* (as I have proved before) *have declared againſt all* defenſive *as well as* offenſive *War, it being impoſſible for the Sovereignty to conſiſt* with the Liberty of that Pretence. *In all Sovereign Governments they muſt truſt their Lives and Liberties with their Sovereign.*—— *The King is bound in Juſtice and Equity, and for Example ſake, to obſerve his Laws, but if he will lay aſide all Conſcience, and the Fear of God his only Superior, the Rights of Sovereignty ſecure the* Tyrant *as well as the* Good King *from* Reſiſtance. —— *If he will not act as becomes God's Vicar, if he will obſtruct or pervert the* Laws *and govern* Tyrannically, *yet ſtill there is left no remedy to his Subjects by the Law, but moral Perſwaſion; for the Laws Imperial of this Realm have declared him to be an* Inconditionate *and* Independent *Soveraign, and exempted him from all Coërtion of Force.* ---- *If they will turn Tyrants, neither fearing God, nor the Cenſures of good Men, they are by the Laws of the* Engliſh *Empire, as free from Puniſhment, Compulſion, or Reſiſtance as the* Cæſars *were.* —— *He may bear the Sword not for the* Defence, *but for the* Offence *and* Deſtruction *of his Subjects; but if he do, they have no Authority to* Reſiſt *him, they cannot without ſinful Uſurpation oppoſe their Swords to his.* —— Grotius *condemns all violent Defence, againſt unjuſt Force, from publick Authority,* Contra vim injuſtiſſimam, ſed Publico-nomine illatam.---- *If they* [*Kings*] *do Wrong, if they Tyranize it over their Subjects, He* [*God*] *will puniſh them, and turn their hearts, if he ſees fit. But their Subjects muſt not defend themſelves by violence againſt them, they muſt not*

See Sir Orl. *Bridgman's* Speech, pag. 12, 13, 14.

not take up Defenſive *Arms againſt them, becauſe they are in God's ſtead*; *for* Whoſoever Reſiſteth the Power Reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and they that Reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation, *as it was written by the Apoſtle in the time of a wicked Tyrant.*

Grotius ſays, *That Reaſon compels us to confeſs, that* Oppreſſion *is to be endured, leſt* too much Liberty *follow upon the contrary: and the Examples of the Ancient Chriſtians teach us, that any Violence is to be endured, which the Supreme Power lays upon us, upon the account of* Religion; *for they are in a great Error, who think, that the Chriſtians before the time of* Conſtantine *abſtained from Reſiſtance becauſe they wanted ſufficient Strength*—— *If the former (the Doctrine of* Non-Reſiſtance) *make a Land obnoxious now and then to a* Tyrant, *the latter (the Doctrine of* Reſiſtance) *would make it perpetually obnoxious to the Rage and Fury of the deluded* Rabble, *who in Riots, Tumults, and Inſurrections (for which they would never want Pretences, were Reſiſtance in any Caſe allow'd) are able to do more miſchief in a week than ever any Tyrant did in a year.* —— *The Rage of the worſt of Tyrants generally wrecks it ſelf upon particular Perſons or Parties of Men; but in a* Civil War, *which is worſe than any Tyranny, all muſt ſuffer without diſtinction.* —— *Had our Saviour allow'd Subjects, under pretence of defending themſelves and their Religion, to Reſiſt their Sovereign, he had come indeed to deſtroy Mens Lives.* ——*Though* Tyranny *be ill, yet he knew* Reſiſtance *was worſe.* ——*Let them ſuppoſe him to be a complicated Tyrant,* —— *to be* Pharaoh, Achab, Jeroboham, *and* Nebuchadnezzar *all in one; nay let the Spirit of* Galerius, Maximin, *and* Maxentius *come upon him, yet I'm ſure it will coſt fewer Lives, and leſs Deſolation, to let him alone, than to reſiſt him; but if it would not, I had rather dye a* Martyr *than a* Rebel. *I appeal to the late* Rebellion, *which the* Rebels *called a* Defenſive War, *to verifie this Doctrine; for there was more Blood ſpilt in it in one Battel, than in all the* Tyrannies *and* Perſecutions *of the Nation ſince the Conqueſt; and in the two Kingdoms there hath been more Chriſtian Blood ſhed in Rebellions ſince the Reformation by pretended Undertakers of Defenſive War, than throughout the whole* Roman Empire, *in nine of the firſt ten Perſecutions.* —— *Let us imagine a* Popiſh Prince *as* biggoted *in Religion, and as Sanguinary in his Temper as may be, now Reigning over us, yet he could not likely cauſe ſo much*

much Ruin, Bloodſhed and Deſolation in his whole Reign, as a War between him and his Reſiſting *Subjects would cauſe in one Year. Wherefore it is plain, That it is the Intereſt even of the People themſelves, that ſo great a Power ſhould be in the Sovraign, that none ſhould withſtand him, or riſe up againſt him; and that nothing can be more pernicious to the Commonwealth in any Government, than that the Subjects ſhould have a Power of taking up Arms to defend their* Liberty *and* Religion. —— All theſe are Dr. *Hicks* his Words in the ſame Chapter our Author quotes: and whether they all *relate only to private Injuries, and the ordinary Male-Adminiſtration of Government*, as our Author would have you believe, I will not provoke your Patience to ſay any more towards it, than barely ſetting down the Words.

But for the *Homilies*, it may be more material to know if they make for his purpoſe, becauſe they are every Word confirm'd by Act of *Parliament* and *Convocation*, which this Author and all the Clergy have ſubſcribed; and (which is more) *Julian Johnſon* himſelf, the *Patron* of *Reſiſtance*, ſays, that it is the *next beſt Book to the Bible.*

Let us ſee therefore, whether what they ſay *relate only to private Injuries, or the ordinary Male-Adminiſtration of Government.*

From the Homilies. And firſt, for the *Original of Government*, the firſt *Homily againſt wilful Rebellion* tells you, *That it cometh neither of Fortune and Chance (as they term it) nor of the Ambition of mortal Men and Women, climing up on their own accord to Dominion; that there be Kings, Queens, and Princes, and other Governors over Men being their Subjects; but all Kings, Queens, and other Governors are ſpecially appointed by the Ordinance of God.* —— But to come to our Author's Purpoſe; The Caſe is put of Kings that ſeek to *Ruine* and *Deſtroy*, and *Undoe* their People: and theſe Scriptures are quoted; *When the Wicked do Reign, then Men go to Ruine. A fooliſh Prince deſtroyeth the People, and a covetous King undoeth his Subjects.* And the Queſtion is put, Whether Subjects may Reſiſt *ſuch Princes?* Which is ruled abſolutely in the *Negative* with a *God forbid!* and many Reaſons are given, particularly that *Rebellion is the greateſt of all Miſchiefs, and that the naughtieſt and lewdeſt Subjects are apteſt to find Faults, and that it would be unreaſonable to let them be Judges; what Princes were* Tolerable,

and

and what were Evil *and* Intolerable. *That* a Rebel is worſe than the worſt Prince; *and* Rebellion *worſe than the* worſt Government *of the* worſt Prince *that hitherto hath been. That ſuch Lewd* Remedies *are far worſe than any other* Maladies *and* Diſorders *that can be in the Body of a Commonwealth.*

But to leave no room for a Reply, the Objection is farther urged; *What if the Prince be Indiſcreet and Evil indeed, and it is alſo evident to all Men's Eyes that he is ſo?* Neither is this allow'd for a Cauſe of Reſiſtance, but on the contrary, we are admoniſhed to Reflect, *That it is our Sins have brought ſuch a King to Rule over us.* God (*ſaith the holy Scripture*) maketh a wicked Man to Reign for the Sins of the People; *for Subjects to deſerve through their Sins to have an evil Prince, and then to Rebel againſt him, were double and treble Evil, by provoking God more to Plague them. Nay, let us either deſerve to have a good Prince, or let us patiently ſuffer and obey ſuch as we deſerve.* And that you may not think theſe were only *Moderate* and *Tolerable* Evils, or *Private* Injuries, or not *Univerſal* enough, immediately after the Caſe is put, *of the Chriſtians under* Caligula, Claudius, *or* Nero, *and the Jews under* Nebuchodonoſor, *who ſlew their* Kings, Nobles, Parents, Children, *and* Kinſfolks, *burn'd their* Country, Cities, *yea* Jeruſalem *it ſelf, and the* Holy Temple, *and carried the Reſidue remaining alive Captives with him into* Babylon. *And then is ſhewn how both* Chriſtians *and* Jews, *by the Command of the* Apoſtles *and* Prophets, *were not only barr'd from* Reſiſtance, *but were obliged to* Pray *for theſe* Cruel, Heathen Tyrants, Murtherers, *and* Oppreſſors *of them, and* Deſtroyers *of their* Countrey, *with a Confeſſion that their Sins had deſerved ſuch Princes to Reign over them.*

Job 34. 10.

Yet all this is not thought ſo bad nor miſchievous to a Country as *Reſiſtance*, which, as this *Homily* ſays, does *more miſchief than Foreign Enemies would or could do.* And the miſchief is more *Univerſal*, for the *Homily* ſays, *Such Rebels do not only Riſe againſt their Prince, againſt their* Natural Country, *but againſt all their* Country-men, Women *and* Children; *againſt* Themſelves, *their* Wives, Children *and* Kinſfolk; *and by ſo wicked an Example againſt* all Chriſtendom, *and againſt* whole Mankind, *of all manner of People through the wide World.*

The second Homily inlarges upon the Case of *Saul* and *David*, and then puts the several Pretences for Rebellion into Questions or Demands, which are all resolved from the Command and Example of *David*. *Viz.*

Shall not we, specially being so good Men as we are, Rise and Rebel against a Prince hated of God, *and* God's Enemy; *and therefore likely not to* Prosper *either in War or Peace; but to be* hurtful *and* pernicious *to the Commonwealth? Shall we not Rise and Rebel against so* unkind *a Prince, nothing* considering *or* regarding *our* true, faithful, *and* painful Service, *or the* safeguard *of our* Posterity? —— *Shall we not Rise and Rebel against our* known, mortal, *and* deadly Enemy, *that seeketh our* Lives? —— *Shall we not assemble an Army of such good Fellows as we are, and by hazarding our Lives, and the Lives of such as shall withstand us, and with all hazarding the whole Estate of our Country, Remove* so Naughty *a Prince?* —— *Are not they, some say, lusty and couragious Captains, valiant Men of Stomach, and good Mens Bodies, that do venture by force to kill and depose their King, being a* Naughty Prince, *and their* Mortal Enemy? *They may be as* Lusty *and* Couragious *as they list, yet, saith Godly* David, *they can be no* Good *nor* Godly *Men that so do* —— And so having answered all the above Queries in the negative, after his own Example, and the Command of God, at last this Quere is put, *What shall we then do to an* Evil, *to an* unkind *Prince, and* Enemy to us, hated of God, hurtful *to the* Commonwealth, *&c. Lay no violent hand upon him, saith* David, *but let him live until God appoint, and work his End, either by Natural Death, or in War by* Lawful Enemies, *not by* Traytorous Subjects. *Thus would Godly* David *make answer; and St.* Paul, *as ye have heard, willeth us also to Pray for such a Prince.*

These are the Rules this Homily sets down concerning Rebelling against *Evil* Princes, *Unkind* Princes, *Cruel* Princes, Princes that be to their Subjects *mortal Enemies*, Princes that are *out of God's favour*, and so *hurtful*, and like to be hurtful, to the *Commonwealth*.

And to shew that all this is not meant only of *Particular Persons*, but of the *whole Nation*; it is thus expressed at the end of this Homily, *viz. That the* whole *Jewish* Nation (*being otherwise a stubborn People*) *were to be obedient to the Commandment*

mandment of a Foreign Heathen *Prince, and this doth prove that* Chriſtian *Rebels, againſt* Chriſtian *Princes, are far worſe than the ſtubborn* Jews, *whom we yet account as the worſt of all People* —— *And howſoever they call themſelves, or be named of others, yet are they indeed no true* Chriſtians *but worſe than* Jews, *worſe than* Heathens, *and ſuch as ſhall never enjoy the Kingdom of Heaven.* And the third Homily ſpeaks in theſe Words; *How horrible a Sin againſt God and Man* Rebellion *is, cannot poſſibly be expreſſed according to the greatneſs thereof: For he that nameth* Rebellion, *nameth not a ſingular, or one only Sin, as is Theft, Robbery, Murther, and ſuch like; but he nameth the whole Puddle and Sink of all Sins, againſt God and Man, againſt his Prince, his Country, his Country-men, his Parents, his Children, his Kinſfolks, his Friends, and againſt all Men univerſally; all Sins, I ſay, againſt God, and all Men heaped together, nameth he, that nameth* Rebellion ——— *And beſides the diſhonour done by Rebels unto God's holy Name, by their breaking of their* Oaths *made to their Prince, with the Atteſtation of God's Name, and calling of his Majeſty to Witneſs.*

And in the fourth Homily having ſhewn the horrible deſtruction of *Corah, Dathan,* and *Abiram*, and others, for their Rebellions and Murmurings, *Now,* ſays the Homily, *if ſuch ſtrange and horrible Plagues did fall upon ſuch Subjects, as did only* murmur *and* ſpeak *evil againſt their Heads; What ſhall become of thoſe moſt wicked* Imps of the Devil, *that do* Conſpire, Arm *themſelves,* Aſſemble *great Numbers of Armed* Rebels, *and* Lead *them with them againſt their Prince and Country,* Spoiling *and* Robbing, Killing *and* Murthering, *all good Subjects that do withſtand them, as many as they may prevail againſt.* —— *Though not only great Multitudes of the Rude and Raſcal Commons, but ſometime alſo Men of great* Wit, Nobility *and* Authority, *have moved Rebellions againſt their* Lawful *Princes.* —— *Though they ſhould pretend ſundry Cauſes, as the* Redreſs of the Commwealth *(which* Rebellion *of all other Miſchiefs doth moſt deſtroy),* or Reformation of Religion, *(whereas* Rebellion *is moſt againſt all true Religion) though they have made a great Shew of Holy Meaning, by beginning their Rebellion with a Counterfeit Service of God (as did wicked* Abſalom *begin his Rebellion with* ſacrificing unto God) —— *Yet neither the* Dignity *of* any Perſon, *nor the* Multitude *of any*

People

People, *nor the* Weight *of any* Cauſe, *is ſufficient for the which Subjects may move* Rebellion *againſt their* Princes. ---- *And for ſo much as the* Redreſs *of the* Commonwealth *hath of old time been the uſual feigned Pretence of* Rebels, *and* RELIGION *now of late beginneth to be a* Colour *of* Rebellion, *let all Godly and Diſcreet Subjects conſider well of both; and firſt concerning* Religion, *What a Religion it is that ſuch Men by ſuch Means would reſtore may eaſily be judged; even as Good a* Religion *ſurely as* Rebels *be* Good Men, *and* Obedient Subjects, *and as* Rebellion *is a good means of* Redreſs *and* Reformation, *being itſelf the greateſt* Deformation *of all that may poſſibly be. But as the Truth of the Goſpel of our Saviour Chriſt being quietly and ſoberly taught, though it do coſt them their Lives that do teach it, is able to maintain the true Religion; ſo hath a frantick* Religion *need of ſuch* furious *Maintainers as is* Rebellion, *and ſuch* Patrons *as are* Rebels.---*Now concerning Pretences of any* Redreſs *of the* Commonwealth *made by* Rebels, *every Man that hath half an Eye may ſee how vain they be*; Rebellion *being, as I have before declared, the greateſt* Ruin *and* Deſtruction *of all* Commonwealths *that may be poſſible.* ---- *Wherefore to conclude, Let all good Subjects, conſidering how horrible a Sin againſt God, their Prince, their Country, their Country-men, againſt all God's and Man's Laws,* Rebellion *is; being indeed not one ſeveral Sin, but all Sins againſt God and Man heaped together; conſidering the miſchievous Life and Deeds, and the ſhameful Ends and Deaths of all* Rebels *hitherto; and the pitiful undoing of their Wives, Children, and Families, and diſinheriting of their Heirs for ever; and, above all things, conſidering the* Eternal Damnation *that is prepared for all impenitent* Rebels *in* Hell, *with* Satan *the* firſt Founder *of* Rebellion, *and* Grand Captain *of all* Rebels; *Let all good Subjects* (I ſay) *conſidering theſe Things, avoid and flee* all Rebellion *as the greateſt of all Miſchiefs: And,* as the fifth Homily ends, *knowing theſe the ſpecial* Inſtruments *and* Miniſters *of the* Devil, *to the ſtirring up of all* Rebellions, *avoid and flee them, and the Peſtilent Suggeſtions of ſuch* Foreign Uſurpers, *and their Adherents, and embrace all obedience to God, and their* Natural *Princes, and Sovereigns,* &c.

Theſe are the Words of our *Homilies*, which have much more to the ſame purpoſe. But I am afraid I have tranſgreſſed upon your Patience in repeating ſo much of them:

But

But I was in more than ordinary concern to ſee our Author ſo gravely vouch the *Homilies* on his ſide, which might paſs with thoſe who have not conſulted them; therefore forgive my inſiſting ſo long upon them, and I will not trouble you to apply all this to his Hypotheſis. I ſhould reckon it an Affront to your Underſtanding to attempt it. Only, I pray, keep this with you, That you know what ſtreſs to lay upon this Author's *Confident Vouching*.

We are now come to our Author's leſſer Quotations, which might be ſpar'd; for after examining what he offers from *Reaſon*, from *Scripture*, from the *Homilies*, and *Publick Acts* of our *Church*, and from our *Acts* of *Parliament*, and the *Laws*, what *Private Writer* can have Authority to over-ballance all theſe?

But, if even thoſe very Authors he quotes either make nothing for him, or make directly againſt him; then we muſt ſuppoſe, That he thought his Cauſe very deſtitute, when he could find no more to ſay for it. ——— He begins with *Grotius*, Introduction n. 1. p. 2. theſe are the Words of his Quotation; This is *Grotius*'s Opinion, ſays *our Author*, in his Book *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, lib. 1. cap. 4. §. 11. where citing *Barclay*, he ſays, *If a King be carried with a malicious deſign to the Deſtruction of a* Whole Nation, *he loſeth his Kingdom; which I grant, ſince a Will to Govern and to Deſtroy cannot conſiſt together; therefore he who* profeſſes *himſelf an Enemy to a* Whole People, *doth, in that very Act, Abdicate his Kingdom: But it ſeems hardly poſſible that this ſhould enter into the heart of a King, who is not mad, if he govern only one People; but if he govern many, it may happen, that in favour of one People, he may deſire the other were deſtroyed.* This is the Author's Quotation; wherein I find fault, firſt, with his Tranſlation of *Grotius*, and leaving out ſome of his Words, on purpoſe to hide his meaning: and next I will ſhew, that it is nothing to his purpoſe if it were as he would have it.

From *Grotius*.

Ait idem Barclaius amitti Regnum ſi Rex vere *hoſtili animo* in totius Populi Exitium feratur, quod concedo; conſiſtere enim ſimul non poſſunt voluntas imperandi, & voluntas perdendi: quare qui ſe hoſtem *Populi totius* profitetur, is eo ipſo Abdicat Regnum: ſed vix videtur hoc accidere poſſe in Rege mentis compote. Qui uni Populo imperet: quod ſi pluribus Populis imperet, accidere poteſt ut unius Populi in gratiam alterum velit perditum.

Firſt, The Caſe which *Grotius* cites out of *Barclay*, is, *Si Rex vere Hoſtili animo*, If a King really with a hoſtile Mind,

that is, as an *open Enemy*, *in totius Populi exitium feratur*, do attempt the Deſtruction of his *whole* People. —— Now our Author, to bring this Caſe nearer to his Deſign, and to paſs upon the *Engliſh* Readers, inſtead of a *truly hoſtile Mind*, which is being a *perfect Enemy*, words it only, the King *having Malice in his Mind*, *a malicious Deſign*; which may be eaſier pretended, and infer'd from a hundred things, than an *open*, *hoſtile* Attempt to cut off *a whole Nation*, if it be not true; for Peoples Eyes will undeceive them in that.

But what would our Author make of this? a King's Deſign to deſtroy the *whole* People? *Grotius* ſays, in the above-quoted place, *That it is hardly poſſible to enter into the heart of a King who is not mad* And our Author does not ſo much as pretend it againſt King *James*, but only that he deſign'd to deſtroy *the Proteſtant* Intereſt in *Ireland*.

Therefore we muſt come to the other part of what *Grotius* ſays; *viz. That if a King Govern many People, it may happen that in favour of one People he may deſire the other were deſtroy'd.* Thus our Author. —— But *Grotius* gives his Reaſon in the Words which our Author conceals; viz. *Ut Colonias ibi faciat*, which governs what he ſaid before; *viz.* That a King may deſign to root out a People *where he intends to make a Colony*: That is, ſo far as to make room for his *Colony*, as it is with our Plantations in *Ireland* and in *America*, which no Man will ſtretch farther than to bring the Natives *under Subjection*, not to *deſtroy them all*. And take notice, that theſe Words *Ut Colonias ibi faciat*, are all the Words which remain of that Section our Author has quoted; viz. *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, lib. 1. cap. 4 §. 11. Our Author has repeated every Word of that Section, except theſe four Words, which do conclude it, and ſhew plainly *Grotius*'s meaning to be quite different from what our Author would have us believe; why otherwiſe he ſhould be at the pains of Tranſcribing that Section, and putting it *verbatim* in his Margin, and omit only the four laſt Words, he will give us a Reaſon in his next.

Beſides, *Grotius* conſents to *Barclay* in that Caſe of a King's deſigning to deſtroy his *Whole* People, that he, thereby, demits the Government of them; becauſe, as he rightly infers, a Will to *Govern* and to *Deſtroy* cannot conſiſt together: but he does not ſay that a King may not deſtroy *a part*, to preſerve

ſerve *another Part*; or that if he does, he does thereby *Abdicate* the Government of thoſe whom he ſo ſeeks to deſtroy. There is no ſuch thing in *Grotius*, and there is nothing elſe would have been to this Author's purpoſe. Remember the *Reaſon* of the Thing we were upon before, we are now only upon the *Quotations*. And *Grotius* in this Quotation, as ſet down by our Author, puts the Caſe not only of a Governor's *Deſign* to Deſtroy his People, but that he *Profeſſes* himſelf an *Enemy* to his *whole* People: And this is the Act which *Grotius* ſays ſuppoſes him to be *mad*, and to abdicate his Kingdom, which will no ways ſerve our Author's purpoſe, unleſs he prove that King *James* did not only *deſign*, but *profeſs* himſelf an *Enemy* to his People; nor can you make him *Abdicate* by this Quotation, unleſs you make him to be *mad* at the ſame time.

But I have ſaid enough as to *Grotius*; the next *Authority* he produces is Dr. *Hammond*, who, this Author ſays, in his Vindication of Chriſt's reprehending St. *Peter* from the Exceptions of Mr. *Marſhal*, approves this Paſſage of *Grotius*. From *Hammond*.

And ſo he might, without making any Thing for this Author's purpoſe, as I have ſhewn; but how does Dr. *Hammond* approve it? Dr. *Hammond* ſays, That *Grotius mentions ſome Caſes wherein a King may be Reſiſted, as in Caſe a King ſhall Abdicate his Kingdom, and manifeſtly Relinquiſh his Power, then he turns Private Man, and may be dealt with as any other ſuch.*

Dr. *Hammond* ſays, That *Grotius* ſaid ſo, but does *Hammond* approve of it? No, not in that place, but he brings it as an Objection of his Adverſaries, which they Quoted out of *Grotius* againſt him; and he thought it made ſo little againſt him, that he ſaid they would *find little Joy in it*, and other their like Quotations out of *Grotius*, whom the Doctor in the ſame place ſtrongly vindicates. And indeed what Joy could Mr. *Marſhal* or the *Author* find in that Saying of *Grotius*, to ſerve their Principle of *Reſiſtance*? For if a King ſhould *voluntarily* and *manifeſtly Relinquiſh* his Power, and *Abdicate* his Kingdom, and becomes thereby a *Private Man*, and though he may *then* be Reſiſted, Will it follow that a *King* may be Reſiſted? That would make this ſort of Argument. *viz.* Becauſe a *Private Man* may be Reſiſted, therefore

fore a *King* may be Reſiſted; and as Dr. *Hammond* ſaid, I wiſh our Author Joy of this Quotation.

But pray tell me, if you can imagine, what it was could poſſeſs our Author to appeal to Dr. *Hammond*? Will he abide by Dr. *Hammond*'s Judgment in this Cauſe? No, certainly he will not; he writes in flat oppoſition to him. What then? Did he think to pick up ſome odd ſcrap out of him to give credit to his Cauſe, by naming Dr. *Hammond* on its ſide? Whereas every one that reads him muſt ſee that he runs diametrically oppoſite to the Principles for which he is produced. Nay, in the very Paragraph which this Author quotes, Dr. *Hammond* is vindicating *Grotius*'s Principles for maintaining, That *neither Publick nor Private Perſons may lawfully wage War againſt them under whoſe Command they are*; and *That it was the greateſt injury that could be done to the Ancient Chriſtians, to ſay, That it was want of Strength, not of Inclination that way, that they defended not themſelves in time of moſt certain danger of Death*: and much more to the ſame purpoſe.

From *Hicks*. The next Man this Author quotes, is as unlucky for his Deſign. It is Dr. *Hicks* Dean of *Worceſter*, who wrote *Jovian* in Anſwer to *Julian* the Apoſtate. He is now one of the *Deprived Clergy* of this Kingdom, for his conſtant adhering to his old *Paſſive Obedience*. Yet this Author will needs quote him on his ſide, and would have the Reader believe that he is againſt *Paſſive Obedience*, even in that Book which he wrote purpoſely in its defence: Some of which you have already heard quoted.

Well! let him be produced; we will hear what he ſays in this Cauſe. Firſt, our Author ſtates the Queſtion, *Suppoſe a King endeavours to deſtroy his People*; by which we muſt mean the *whole People*, as already ſhewn out of *Grotius*; otherwiſe if this Author would have it meant only of *a part* of the People, he ſhould tell us *what part*, and how circumſtantiated, that we might know his meaning. But *Dolus latet in Generalibus*. In which this Author has indeed an excellent faculty; for it is harder to know where to have him, than to confute him.

But to the Caſe in hand: *Jovian* ſays, That to *ſuppoſe this, is plainly to ſuppoſe the utmoſt Impoſſibility*. But ſuppoſing it, then our Author quotes him again, ſaying, that in ſuch a Caſe,

Caſe, *his good Subjects would deſert him*. By which he means no more, as he there explains himſelf, than *not Aſſiſting* him in ſuch wicked Deſigns, which certainly would be the part of a good Subject. But what is this to *Depoſing*, *Abdicating*, *taking Arms againſt him*, *and putting another in his place*? But he goes on with *Jovian*, and quotes p. 152. where he ſays, *He ſhould be tempted to pray for the Deſtruction of ſuch a Prince*. What Ground or Reaſon does *Jovian* give for this? He ſays in the Words immediately before, (which our Author forgot to ſet down) that all this was upon the Suppoſition of ſuch a Prince as *Julian*, who had ſinned againſt a Series of Divine Miracles, and diſcovered a Diabolical Malice againſt Chriſt, and without breach of Charity might be ſuppoſed upon Scripture Principles to have *ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, and become incapable of Repentance. *And upon that Suppoſition*, ſays *Jovian*, *I ſhould be tempted to pray for his Deſtruction, as the only means of delivering the Church*. Dr. *Hicks* knew no other way of Deliverance for the Church in the Time of Perſecution but what came from God, that is, either God's *Converting* or *Removing* the Perſecutor who was our Lawful Governour. Now if you will ſuppoſe him incapable of Repentance, it is a *ſuppoſe* indeed, which we have no certain means of knowing; but *ſuppoſing it*, as old *Gregory* probably did in the Caſe of *Julian*, then there is no other way but his Deſtruction; and whether we ſhould Pray, even for that, is a Queſtion which Dr. *Hicks* does not determine, unleſs it be in the Negative: He ſays, he ſhould be *Tempted* to pray ſo. Now whether does this Argue that Praying ſo was a *Duty* or a *Sin*? We are ſaid to be *Tempted* to *Sin*, not to our *Duty*. Lead us not into *Temptation*, does not mean, Lead us not to our *Duty*. God *tempteth* no man, but every Man is *tempted when he is drawn away of his own Luſts*, *and inticed*, as to Curſe or Reſiſt his Governors; *from which Luſts come Wars and Fightings*, ſays St. *James*: Therefore Dr. *Hicks* calling it a *Temptation* to pray for the Deſtruction of his Prince, though a *Julian*, argues that he thought it a *Sin*; at leaſt, even this Author will not have the Confidence to ſay, that Dr. *Hicks* by this Expreſſion was poſitive in its being our *Duty* to pray ſo: But this he was Poſitive in, *viz.* That you muſt do no more than Pray. Theſe are his Jam. 1. 13, 14. 4. 1.

Words, which follow thoſe this Author has Quoted. *I muſt alſo declare*, ſays he, *that I would do nothing but pray againſt him. I would draw fourth no Squadrons againſt him, but ſuch as old* Gregory *did againſt* Julian, *Squadrons of Prayers and Tears. I would Dye rather than Reſiſt him, or thoſe that were put in Authority under him.*

Now I would gladly know, What it was which tempted this Author to leave out theſe Words of Dr. *Hicks*'s, which would have abundantly ſhewn his Principle in this Matter, to every the meaneſt Reader: We muſt conclude that our Author did not intend it, But to amuſe them with the firſt part to miſtake the *Doctor*, as if he had been for *Reſiſtance*. But his *Practice* is ſuch an undeniable Comment upon his *Writings*, That this Author could not have light upon a way to expoſe both himſelf and his Book more effectually than by Quoting Dr. *Hicks* as one whoſe Opinion he follows.

From *Faulkner.*

The laſt Quotation he brings is from *Faulkner*'s *Chriſtian Loyalty*, B. 2. c. 5. n. 19,20. Let us hear the Words he produces. They are theſe, *viz. But if ever any ſuch ſtrange Caſe as is ſuppoſed ſhould really happen, I confeſs it would have its great Difficulties.* Who ever doubted it? I cannot imagine what he brought this for. I ſuppoſe all the meaning was to ſhew, That the Paſſive-Obedience-Men would not have ſuch Caſes to be put. And can you blame them? *Diſloyal* and *Seditious* Spirits, to ſtir Men up to Rebellion, do make Caſes that never were in the World. And it is next to Impoſſible that ever they ſhould be; as a King going about to Deſtroy *All his whole People*, or *Half*, or a *Quarter* of them.

Who would endure it, if any Man ſhould publiſh ſuch Caſes of the *Parliament*; as ſuppoſe an Act of Parliament were made to Hang every Man at his Door, to Sell the Nation to the *French*, to Maſſacre the *Whole*, or *Half*, or *Quarter* of the People. If any Man ſhould raiſe ſuch Suggeſtions of the *States in Holland*, and deſire to know what the People were to do in ſuch Caſes, I ſuppoſe there is no Government but would ſtop his Mouth, without being at the Pains of ſatisfying his Curioſity. Yet this Author is very Angry that the Non-Reſiſtance-Men ſhould deſire ſuch Caſes not to be put. Hear Dr. *Faulkner*'s own Words, which our Author thinks

thinks do him ſo great ſervice. *But in truth the Caſe above-mentioned ought not at all to be ſuppoſed, or taken into Conſideration; for there is greater hurt to be feared from the making ſuch Suppoſitions, than from the Things ſuppoſed; ſince it is much more likely that ſuch Deſigns ſhould be imagin'd, and believ'd to be true, when they are falſe, (as they were in the unjuſt* Outcrys, *againſt our late Gracious Sovereign) than that they ſhould be certainly true. And every Good Man, yea every Reaſonable Man, may have as great Confidence that no ſuch Caſe will really happen, as can be had concerning the future ſtate of any thing in this World.* Thus Dr. *Faulkner.*

Our Author may perhaps ſay, That all this is made out in his Book concerning K. *James*; but that is begging the Queſtion. And this I may ſay, I am ſure without offence, That this Author will never make any Man believe that K. *James* did deſign the *Extirpation* or *Maſſacre* either of the *whole* Proteſtants in *Ireland*, or *half*, or *quarter* of them. He had them all (except two ſmall Towns) in his mercy for a whole Summer, and did not kill a Man of them; though he believed (and it proved true) that their Hearts were againſt him, and would Joyn with his Enemies when ever they could (of which their daily Deſerting him, and giving Intelligence to the Enemy was a Demonſtration) yet he preſerved them from being deſtroyed, and took pains to hinder thoſe who were ready enough to have done it.

I will not deny but that he might deſire to put the Sword in the hands of thoſe of his own Religion, and to make them the Ballance of the Nation, which was natural enough for him to wiſh; yet I do not Juſtify it. But that ever he deſign'd to *Maſſacre* or *Extirpate* the *Proteſtants*, I confeſs I cannot believe. And his Carriage in *Ireland*, by all the Accounts I could have of it, nay take it altogether, even as this Author tells it, is a Demonſtration to the contrary. But I am too long upon this Subject.

Let us return to our Author's Quotation. And here I muſt tell him, That though *Faulkner* is againſt having ſuch Caſes put, as aboveſaid, yet it is not that an Anſwer cannot be given; for he gives it out of Biſhop *Bilſon*, in the very ſame Place which our Author Quotes, but he takes care

to

to conceal the Words, which if he had ſet down, it would have appeared very ridiculous to have ſaid, as he does, that Biſhop *Bilſon* ſeems to allow the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance*. The Biſhop's Words are theſe as quoted by *Faulkner*, firſt finding fault with ſuch Caſes being put, That *they are able*, ſays he, *to ſet Grave and Good Men at their wits end*. But then he adds, *yet we ſtand not on that*, and poſitively determines in theſe words, which I had occaſion partly to Quote before: *If the Laws of the Land where they converſe, do not permit them to ſave their Lives, when they are aſſaulted with unjuſt force againſt Law, or if they take Arms, as you do, to depoſe Princes, we will never excuſe them from Rebellion.* Thus *Bilſon*. And the very firſt words of the Chapter which our Authour quotes of *Faulkner*, *viz.* Book 2. c. 5. puts the Caſe as directly againſt our Authors Poſition, as if he had read our Author's Book, and wrote on purpoſe to confute it.

There have been ſome, ſays he, *who grant the unlawfulneſs of taking Arms againſt a Soveraign Prince, to be a* General *Rule for* ordinary *Circumſtances*; *but yet they pretend there are ſome* Great *and* Extraordinary *Caſes in which it muſt admit of* Exceptions: *And the propoſal of theſe Caſes as they are by them managed is like the* Phariſaical Corban, *an Engine and Method to make void the Duties of the Fifth Commandment* —— And then he goes on, and undertakes in this Chap. the defence of that Aſſertion of *Barckley*, who propoſeth the Queſtion, *Nulli nè Caſus* &c. *May there no Caſes fall out in which the People by their Authority may take Arms againſt their King?* And his Anſwer is, *Certainly none*; *ſo long as he is King, or unleſs* ipſo jure Rex eſſe deſinat.

This is the ſame he Quoted Dr. *Hammond* for before, *viz.* that the Perſon who was King may be Reſiſted, when he does *voluntarily* Relinquiſh his Power and becomes a private Perſon, for then indeed *ipſo jure* he of Right ceaſes to be a King.

But may be our Author will ſay that *ipſo jure* and *ipſo facto* he ceaſes to be a King whenever he *Deſigns* to deſtroy a part of his People. I will not repeat what I have ſaid before in Anſwer to this, as to tell what part of the People is meant? That this is an Eternal pretence for all Reſtleſs Spirits, *&c.*

But

But it brings into my mind an Answer a *Scots* Presbyterian Minister (whose Principles as to Government our Author has but licked up) gave to the Objection in the 23 Chapter of their Confession of Faith upon the Head of the *Civil Magistrate*. viz. *That Infidelity, or Difference in Religion, does not take away a King's Right to his Crown, nor absolve his Subjects from their Allegiance to him.* The Minister replied, That is true; for if a King turn Infidel, he does *ipso facto* cease to be a King: So that our Author was not the *Original* of this *pretty Distinction.*

Faulkner, in the same place, shews our Author's Doctrine to be borrow'd from *Mariana*, *Bellermine*, and other, *Jesuitical* Doctors. (*Jesuit* and *Puritan* are convertible Terms, in the Point of *Loyalty*, only that the *Jesuit* is the Elder Brother) and determins against them, N. 3. *That the Agreement of the Whole body of the People, or the Chief and Greater part thereof, can give no sufficient Authority to such an Enterprise, viz.* of taking Arms against the King. And with respect to this Kingdom, he quotes our Laws, which declare it Unlawful for the two Houses of Parliament, though Jointly, to take Arms against the King —— *Faulkner* goes on, and proves as directly against our Author, in this same Chapter which our Author quotes on his side, as Words can be fram'd. But there are none so blind as they that will not see.

These are all the *Quotations* he brings to support his new Hypothesis, and how far they serve to his purpose, I leave it to the Reader; and from the whole, I shall only mind our Author of the Instances I have already given him, *viz.* The Condition of the *Jews* in *Egypt*, in *Babylon*, under *Ahasuerus*, and the *Romans*: The *Gibeonites* under *Saul*, and the *Primitive Christians* in their several *Persecutions*, more especially in the last Decennial Persecution. And then apply this to the Rule he has given us, *viz.* That Non-Resistance does reach only *Tolerable Evils*, and where the Mischief is not *Universal.*

I wou'd be glad likewise to have his Opinion of the *Carriage of the Protestants towards Queen* Mary. He will not say but their Circumstances were much more Deplorable than under King *James*, even at the worst that he does represent him. There Numbers were fewer, and she as much *bigotted* The Protestants under Qu. *Mary.*

as King *James*; married to the King of *Spain*, overturn'd our Religion by Law, and set up Fire and Fagot; broke her Promise to the *Protestants*, who set her upon the Throne in opposition to Queen *Jane* a *Protestant*. There was but one Branch of the Royal Family that were near the Crown a Protestant, that was the Princess *Elizabeth*, and she was declared *Illegitimate* by Act of Parliament, and to secure the Business was sent to the Tower, in order to have her Head cut off. And after her, the *Royal Line* run out of Sight among the Papists, so that the Protestants had a very lamentable Prospect. Yet they bore it with an admirable Patience, till God with his own hand wrought their Deliverance, taking away Queen *Mary* without their Guilt or Rebellion, and placing that condemned Princess upon her Sisters Throne, to establish the Protestant Religion in a Legal manner. And these *Protestant Martyrs*, even at the *Stake*, declared it Unlawful to take Arms against Queen *Mary* in defence of their *Religion*, but exorted their Fellow Protestants to Patience and Resignation to the Good Will of God: But by no means to *Rebel*, for that was Damnation. They did not Plead that their Evil was *Intolerable*, when they were going into the *Fire*; or that it was *Universal*, reaching to their *whole Religion in the Kingdom*. These were Excuses they were too dull to find out to save their *Lives*, and their *Religion*.

But let us proceed. We have now seen our Author's *Principles*, and how he has supported them from *Reason*, and *Scripture*, and other *Authority*.—— I should now shew you how widely these are different from his former Principles; but I will leave that till we have occasion to give an Account of him, together with others of his Brethren.

The *Matters of Fact* related by this Author.

We will go now to consider his *Matters of Fact*.

Errors in *Judgment* may befall good Men, but any wilful Mistake in *Matters of Fact* is past all Excuse, and is not reconcilable to an honest Intention; especially where we protest, before God, as this Author does, pag. 239. That we have not *aggravated* nor *misrepresented* any thing against our Adversaries.

Before I enter upon this Disquisition I desire to obviate an Objection I know will be made, as if I were about wholly to vindicate

vindicate all that the Lord *Tyrconnel* and other of K. *J*'s Miniſters have done in *Ireland*, eſpecially before this Revolution began, and which moſt of any thing brought it on. No, I am far from it: I am ſenſible that their Carriage in many particulars gave greater occaſion to K. *J*'s Enemies, than all the other Male-Adminiſtrations which were charged upon his Government.

But after K. *J*. came in Perſon into *Ireland*, there was no Act, which could properly be called his, that was not all Mercy and Goodneſs to the *Proteſtants*; and as many of them as do retain the leaſt ſenſe of Gratitude, do acknowlege it: Of which you will ſee ſeveral Inſtances, in clearing the Matters of Fact which this Author Produces.

And I muſt do that Juſtice, even to the Lord *Tyrconnel*, that I have heard ſeveral *Iriſh* Proteſtants ſay, That the Objections they had againſt him were for his Carriage towards them before the beginning of this Revolution; but that afterwards he manag'd with Moderation and Prudence, and more Favour to the Proteſtants than they expected: And that he was againſt repealing the *Acts of Settlement*.

I cannot ſay I have examined into every ſingle Matter of Fact which this Author relates; I could not have the Opportunity: But I am ſure I have the moſt material; and by theſe you will eaſily judge of his Sincerity in the reſt, which could not all come to my Knowlege. But this I can ſay, That there is not one I have enquired into, but I have found it falſe, *in whole*, or *in part*, *aggravated* or *miſrepreſented*, ſo as to alter the whole face of the Story, and give it perfectly another Air and Turn. Inſomuch that though many things he ſays are true, yet he has hardly ſpoke a true Word, that is, told it truly and nakedly, without a Warp.

But let us come to the Teſt. I will begin with that Matter of Fact which is of moſt Importance: that is, who were the *Aggreſſors* in *Ireland* in that miſerable Deſtruction which was brought upon that Kingdom, and begun, *Anno* 1688. Becauſe the *Aggreſſor* is not only anſwerable for the Miſchief he does to another, but for what he receives himſelf.

Who were the Aggreſſors in Ireland, An. 88.

And this Author poſitively avers, *c.* 3. *p.* 8. *n.* 3. *p.* 9. That *it was the unanimous Reſolution of all the Proteſtants in*

the Kingdom, (of *Ireland*) *that they would not be the Aggreſſors, and that they held ſtedfaſtly to their Reſolution.*

And yet, in the ſame *Sect. n.* 9. *p.* 104. he tells of thoſe who did not keep to that Reſolution, and that by way of an Excuſe. He pleads in behalf of theſe Proteſtants, *That the Shutting up of* Derry *againſt the Earl of* Antrim's *Regiment, was all that was done by any* Proteſtant *in* Ireland *in Oppoſition to the Government, till K. J. deſerted* England, *except what was done at* Eneskillen, *where they refuſed to Quarter two Companies ſent to them by the Lord Deputy.*

This was modeſtly worded; for they not only refuſed to quarter them, but marched out in Arms againſt them, to the number of 200 Foot and 150 Horſe, and drove them away before they came near the Town; as we are told by Mr. *Hamilton* in his *Actions of the* Eneskillen-men, *p.* 3. who was himſelf one of them, and then preſent in the Action.

But what does he mean by ſaying, *That this was all that was done by the* Proteſtants; was not this enough? To ſeize the King's Forts, to Enliſt and Array Soldiers, and march in Arms againſt the King's Forces? Did our Author reflect what Conſtruction the Law puts upon all this?

Was this keeping ſtedfaſtly to their Reſolution of not being the *Aggreſſors*? Was this the *ſo deep a Senſe of Loyalty, and mighty Veneration to the very Name of* Authority, *which made them abhor any thing that lookt like an Inſurrection againſt the Government,* as this Author juſt before, in the ſame *Sect. n.* 2. expreſſes it? And yet he confeſſes that this was acting *in Oppoſition to the Government*: For he ſays, That this was all that was done by any Proteſtant *in Oppoſition to the Government,* till K. J deſerted *England*; and yet, as above, That ALL the Proteſtants in *Ireland* held ſtedfaſtly to their Reſolution of not being the *Aggreſſors.*

But he propoſes ſome Advantage, by adding this Qualification, That this was all done *before K. J. deſerted* England.

Here he would bring in the Point of *Abdication,* which he by this ſuppoſes did commence upon K. J's going out of *England*; and thereby he would juſtifie all that was done after that time in *Ireland.*

Firſt, He has by this yielded the Cauſe againſt himſelf; for he confeſſes that *Derry* and *Eneskillen* had oppoſed the Government

vernment in Arms *before that time*; and I will ſhew you by and by many more Inſtances beſides thoſe of *Derry* and *Eneskillen*.

Secondly, This Author will not venture, for theſe Reaſons, to limit K. *J*'s *Abdication* to his leaving *England*; for, as I have quoted him before, p. 14. he avers, That K. *J*. by *endeavouring to deſtroy us, in that very Act did Abdicate*.

I will not repeat what I have ſaid before upon that Point of *Abdication*; That, even in the Senſe this Author and ſome others take it, it ought to be declared (by their own Principles) in ſome *Convention*, *Parliament*, or *Judicial manner*, before private Men can lawfully act upon it.

And the *Abdication* was not determined in the *Convention* till *February* 1688. long before which time the *Iriſh* Proteſtants were in Arms.

But take it, as this Author here puts it, to refer to the time of K. *J*'s going out of *England*: His firſt leaving *Whitehall*, when he went to *Feverſham*, was the 11th of *Dec.* 88. but he came back to *London*, and did not go out of *England* till *Dec.* 23. 88.

And it was a good while after, before they knew of it in *Ireland*. This therefore can be no excuſe for what the Proteſtants in *Ireland* had done long before.

But to come home to our Authors Aſſertion; Was there *nothing done by any Proteſtant in* Ireland, *in oppoſition to the Government, till K. J. deſerted* England, *except that of* Derry *and* Eneskillen?

I am told by perſons, who ſay they were Eye-witneſſes, That long before K. *J*. left *England*, the *Proteſtants* in the *North* of *Ireland* were generally all in Arms, appointed themſelves Officers; *Inliſted* Men; *Arm'd* and *Array'd* them; they *Regimented* themſelves, and had frequent *Rendevouzes*; they appear'd in the Field with *Drums beating* and *Colours flying*; they choſe *Governors of Counties*, and appointed *Councils* and *Committees* to carry on their Buſineſs; they Diſarmed the *Iriſh*, and ſuch of the *Proteſtants* as they ſuſpected not to be Cordial to their Cauſe: I need not mind you, that all this was not only without any Authority from the King, but that it was not ſo much as pretended; on the contrary, it appears by what they did after, and boaſt of here as their

Merit, that all this was intended, at leaſt by many of them, in direct Oppoſition to the King.

You cannot imagine, that they could *in a moment* march out Horſe and Foot in good Order, and all Officer'd, as they did at *Eneskillen* againſt thoſe two *Companies* that were ſent to quarter there. It is therefore certain, that *ſometime before this* they had Marſhall'd themſelves, Inliſted their Men, choſen their Officers, *&c.* which was *Treaſon* by the Law, tho they had not entred upon Action; and I believe no Man in the World, but our Author, will deny this to be *in Oppoſition to the Government:* What Government would not think it ſo? Therefore the ſhutting up of *Derry* Gates againſt the E of *Antrim*'s Regiment, and *Eneskillen* refuſing to quarter two Companies ſent to them by the Lord Deputy, *was not all that was done by any Proteſtant in* Ireland, *in oppoſition to the Government, till K. J. deſerted* England, as our Author words it. Their former *Preparations* in order to that Reſiſtance they then made, was as much Treaſon in the eye of the Law, tho not ſo great Treaſon, as the Reſiſtance it ſelf.

But when did they begin to make theſe Preparations? We are told in one of the Accounts, Printed by the *Iriſh* Proteſtants, intituled, *A faithful Hiſtory of the Northern Affairs of* Ireland, *from the late K.* James's *Acceſſion to the Crown, to the Siege of* London-Derry; *by a Perſon who bore a great ſhare in thoſe Tranſactions.*

We are told in this Account, *p.* 7. That they began to *Arm*, and to engage themſelves in *Aſſociations*, about *Sept.* 88. (before thoſe *written Aſſociations* which were afterwards publiſhed.) In the Proſecution of which Affair, the Lord *B.* in the Counties of *Armagh* and *Monaghan*, and Sir *A. R.* in *Down* and *Antrim* appeared moſt forward. This was when the report grew hot of the P. of *O*'s deſign'd Expedition into *England*; they then, as that Author ſays, p. 6. *did preſume too far upon the Opinion of their own ſtrength, and finding the Affairs of* England *run ſucceſsfully on the Proteſtants ſide, raſhly fancy'd themſelves able enough to attempt their Deliverance.* I am the rather inclin'd to believe him, not only becauſe he ſays, that himſelf bore a great ſhare in thoſe Tranſactions, but I find him ſo far from being a Friend to K. *James*, or writing on his ſide, that he dips his Pen in Gall againſt him, and repre-

repreſents him even with Virulence; and he writes on purpoſe to vindicate their Proceedings in the *North*, of which himſelf, he ſays, bore a great ſhare, and therefore not likely to ſpeak with any Deſign to Prejudice their Cauſe; and he tells us quite contrary to our preſent Author; That the *Proteſtants* in the *North* of *Ireland* began very early, two Months before the P. of O. Landed here, and were from that time gathering ſtrength, *Arming*, *Marſhalling* and *Training* their Men to the *Diſcipline* of *War*, and the uſe of their *Arms* (in which I am told they were very diligent) till at length they were able to make that firſt oppoſition which our Author ſpeaks of at *Derry* and *Eneskillen*.

This was before the P. of O. came into *England*, and I find a little after, *viz.* about the end of *Novemb.* 88. *When the happy tydings of the P. of* O. *Landing had reached our Ears in* Ireland (*ſays Mr.* J. Boyſe, *in his Vindication of Mr.* Osborn *in reference to the Affairs of the North of* Ireland, (*p.* 11.) *Mr.* Osborn *was entruſted by his Brethren the Nonconformiſt Miniſters, and other Gentlemen of Note and Intereſt in the Province of* Ulſter, *to get ſome Gentleman or other ſent over from* Dublin *to the* Prince, *with theſe following Inſtructions, ſign'd by thoſe two whoſe names are ſubſcribed in the name of the reſt.*

1. *That in our* Name *you congratulate the arrival of the P. of* O. *into* England, *and his ſucceſs hitherto in ſo glorious an undertaking to delrver theſe Nations from Popery and Slavery.*

2. *That you Repreſent the Dangers and Fears of the Proteſtants in* Ireland, *and particularly in the Province of* Ulſter, *and humbly beſeech him to take ſome ſpeedy and effectual care for their Preſervation and Relief.*

3. *That you Repreſent our readineſs to ſerve him and his Intereſt in Proſecution of ſo glorious a Deſign, as far as we have acceſs.*

Subſcribed ARCHIBALD HAMILTON.
ALEXANDER OSBORNE.

Accordingly on Dec *the* 8*th. they ſent over a Gentleman, now in Town* (ſays the Book) *who in purſuance of theſe Inſtructions delivered in a memorial enlarging on theſe heads (for they begg'd no particular favour for a Party) to the then* P. *of* O. *the* Originals *of both*

both which Papers are in my hands, says Mr. *Boyse*, whose Words these are.

Now I must inform you that the *Nonconformists* are much the most numerous Party of the *Protestants* in *Ulster*, which is that is called the *North of Ireland*; some Parishes have not *ten*, not *six* that come to Church. While the *Presbyterian Meetings* are crowded with *thousands* covering all the Fields; this is ordinary in the County of *Antrim* especially, which is the most populous of *Scots*, of any in *Ulster*, (who are generally *Presbyterians* in that Country) in other of the *Northern* Counties the *Episcopal Protestants* bear a greater Proportion; some more, some less: But upon the whole, as I have it from those that live upon the Place, they are not *One* to *Fifty*, nor so much, but they would speak within Compass.

From hence we may conclude, That the aboveſaid Addreſs to the P. of O. may be ſaid to be the Addreſs of the *Proteſtants* of *Ulſter*, eſpecially conſidering that none of the others did Diſcent from it, I ſuppoſe many Joyn'd in it, for the Conteſt then was, who ſhould be moſt forward in ſhewing their Affection to the Cauſe; and who could firſt meet *his Highneſs*, thought they had moſt title to his favour.

And this our Author knows was before King *James* deſerted *England*; and I ſuppoſe he will not have the hardineſs to ſay, That this was nothing done *in oppoſition to the Government*.

I will give one Inſtance more. We have heard, and this Author could not but know, of the great Alarm of an intended Maſſacre of the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland* upon the Ninth day of *Decemb.* 1688. The whole of this aroſe from a Letter ſaid to be found in *Cumber-ſtreet*, which was carried to the Earl of *M.* diſcovering the ſaid Maſſacre intended: The fooliſh but artificial Alarm of the few Disbanded *Iriſh* cutting all our Throats in *England* did not fly more Incredibly, to be in all Parts of *England* on the ſelf ſame Night, than this of the Letter found at *Cumber* flew through *Ireland*, and wrought Prodigious Effects upon a People fitted for ſuch an Impreſſion. When this News arrived in *Dublin* (as the *faithful Hiſtory* before quoted tells us, pag. 8.) *It ſo alarm'd the City, that above* 5000 *Proteſtants appeared in Arms, that ſame night*; *and many Hundred Families embarqued from all Parts*

in

in ſuch confuſion, that they left every thing but their Lives behind them, and yet all this, as this Hiſtorian ſays, *he is very well aſſured was only a contrivance deviſed, as the readieſt means to engage the E. of* M. (*who till then was deaf to all arguments for entring into their Aſſociation*) *and to animate a dejected People, who of themſelves were backward to all Arguments of that nature.* Thus the Hiſtorian and that Letter did attain its deſired end, for not only the ſaid E. of *M.* did heartily engage, and after took upon him to be *General* of the *Aſſociation* in the *North*, but the generality of the People, as if all ſet on fire at once, flew to their Arms as readily as they could be commanded, ſo that the whole *North* of *Ireland* appeared on the ſudden all in one Blaze, all in Arms, all Marching up and down, and all in confuſion, as themſelves give the Account.

It was this made *Derry* ſhut their Gates, and was the occaſion of all the confuſion that followed. The Man they firſt pitcht upon for their General was the E. of *Granard*, who was upon all accompts more competent for that Imployment than any amongſt the *Aſſociators*. Purſuant to this Reſolution, Mr. *Hamilton* of *Tollimore* went to *Dublin*, to Repreſent to his Lordſhip the number and poſture of the *Proteſtants* in the *North*, and to invite his Lordſhip to put himſelf upon the Head of their Troops. But that Noble Lord would not ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded by the ſeeming Advantages of appearing ſo early, and in ſo conſiderable a Poſt for the P. of *O.* wherein he might by all humane reckoning, have turn'd the Ballance of that Kingdom; For he wiſely conſidered, that tho the *Proteſtants* in the *North* were numerous and arm'd, and of Reſolution and Courage to exceſs, yet they were Undiciplin'd, all Voluntiers, and conſequently not Party for a form'd Army; he told Mr. *Hamilton*, that he did not know what it was to command a *Rabble*. But beſides, that he had lived *Loyal* all his Life, and would not depart from it in his old age; and he was reſolved, *That no Man ſhould write Rebell upon his Graveſtone*, this was his very expreſſion, and he purſu'd it, for he not only refuſed to Command the Aſſociators in the *North*, but perſuaded them to leave off their mad Enterpriſe, told them they would be ruin'd, as it came to paſs, and Sign'd ſeveral Proclamations,

declaring them *Rebels*, and ſummoning them to lay down their Arms.

Now this Alarme of the intended Maſſacre, and Mr. *Hamilton*'s Invitation to the E. of *Granard* to Command the Army of the *Northern Aſſociation*, was in the beginning of *December* 88. about the *6th.* or *7th.* and therefore before K. *James* left *England*, and before the ſhutting up of *Derry* againſt the E. of *Antrims* Regiment, and before *Eneskillen* refuſed to quarter the two Companies ſent to them by the Lord Deputy, which was the *16th.* of *December* 88. as you will ſee in *Hamiltons actions of the Eneskillen Men*, p. 3.

So much has the Authors Information fail'd him, when he avers, without any heſitation, That the ſhutting up of *Derry* Gates, and this of *Eneskillen*, as aforeſaid, *was all that was done by any Proteſtant in* Ireland, *in oppoſition to the Government, till King* James *deſerted* England.

Though, as I have ſhown before, it would not have ſerved much to the uſe for which our Author brought it, if it had been done after the King went away, or any time before the *Convention* declared his *Reteſs* to be an *Abdication, &c.*

But now here is a more material Thing coming; and that is, The Deſcent of King *James*'s Army into the *North* of *Ireland* in *March* 1688.

Our Author would make us believe, That it was wholly Cauſeleſs, as to any Provocation given by the *Proteſtants*, but that it was only a Deſign of my Lord *Tyrconnel*'s, *to involve the Kingdom in Blood, and that therefore he made all the haſte he could to ſend down that Army, and that no Perſwaſions would prevail upon him to defer ſending it till the King ſhould come, leſt there ſhould be any Terms propoſed or accepted by the People in the North, and ſo that Country eſcape being Plundered and Undone.*

This is in his num. 10. § 8. of ch. 3 p. 106. which has this Title in the Heads of his Diſcoure, *viz. Lord* Tyrconnel *haſtned to run them into Blood before King* James's *Coming*. In the num. before, p. 104, 105. he tells us, there was no Provocation, or not Sufficient, given for the Deſcent of that Army; and here, p. 106. what was the true Cauſe of it. We will Examine both.

For

For the first, he asserts, p. 105. *They* (the Protestants) *were not so much as summoned by him* (the Lord Deputy.) This shows the unreasonable haste and precipitancy of the Lord Deputy, To send an Army, and enter into Blood, without so much as *summoning* the offending Party. But our Author goes on, *Nor did they* (*the* Protestants) *enter into any act of* Hostility, *or* Association, *or* offend *any* till assaulted. *But finding that continual Robberies and Plunderings were committed by such as the Lord Deputy——had intrusted with Arms and Employments—— The Gentlemen in the* North, *to prevent their own Ruin, entered into* Associations, *to defend themselves from these* Robbers; *their Associations did really reach* no farther than this; *nor did they Attempt any thing upon the* Armed Robbers, *except in their own Defence, when Invaded and Assaulted by them: Insomuch that I could never hear of one act of Hostility committed wherein they were not on the* Defensive—— *This was* all the Reason *the Lord Deputy and Council had to call them* Rebels, *and to charge them in their Proclamation, dated* March *the 7th.* 1688 *with actual Rebellion, and with Killing and Murthering several of his Majesties Subjects, and with Pillaging and Plundering the Country; whereas* it was notorious *they never* kill'd *any whom they did not find actually Robbing—— And for* Plundering, *it is* no less notorious *that they Preserved the whole Country within their Associations from being Pillaged, when all the rest of* Ireland *was Destroyed. And their great Care of themselves and their Country was the Crime which truly provoked the Lord Deputy, and made him except from pardon* Twelve *of the principal Estated Men in the* North, *when he sent down Lieut. General* Hamilton *with an Army, which he tells us in the same Proclamation would inevitably occasion the total Ruin and Destruction of the* North.

This is his Charge, and in his own Words. In Answer to which I will not take Advantage of his misquoting this Proclamation, which we may suppose, for that Reason, he forgot to Print among the very many Papers of far less Consequence which fill up his Appendix. But we have it Printed in one of the late *Irish* Protestant Pamphlets, called, *An Apology for the Protestants of* Ireland, *&c.* and I have annexed it to this, that you may see it; the Author calls the excepted Persons, *Twelve*, whereas in the Proclamation there are but *Ten.*

Ten. I lay no great ſtreſs upon that difference of Number, it will not inhaunce the matter much: But it ſhews, that the Author has not been ſo exact in his Vouchers as he ought. Of which, or ſomething worſe, it is a much greater Proof, that in reciting the Cauſes which that Proclamation names for the Deſcent of that Army, he does not keep to the Words of the Proclamation, which inſtances Particulars this Author could not deny; as *Breaking of Priſons, Diſcharging of Priſoners—— Seizing upon his Majeſties Arms and Ammunition, Impriſoning ſeveral of his Majeſties Army, Diſarming and Diſmounting them*, &c. But the Author wiſely avoids naming any of theſe, leaſt he ſhould be oblig'd to diſprove them; only ſays in general, as you have heard, That the Proclamation charges them with Rebellion, Killing, Plundering, *&c.*

Which he manfully denies every Word of it. Therefore let us fairly Examine what I have before Quoted out of him. And that we may fix his looſe and artificial way of Dealing in Generals, ſliding unperceivably from one Matter to another, and huddliug many Things together to diſtract the Reader, I will reduce his Charge to theſe Heads. Firſt, That before the Deſcent of the Army, with whom came the Proclamation dated the 7th. of *March.* 1688. the Lord Deputy did not ſo much as *ſummon* the Aſſociators in *Ulſter.* Secondly, I will Examine who thoſe great Robbers were in the *North*, who Plundered the *Proteſtants* there. And thirdly, We will ſee whether the *Northern Aſſociators* gave no other Provocation to the Government than to defend themſelves againſt theſe Robbers.

For the Firſt, We are furniſhed with a Confutation of him, from the very Proclamation he Quotes, *viz.* That of the 7th. of *March* 1688. which mentions a former Proclamation, requiring the *Aſſociators* to diſperſe, and promiſing them Pardon. There was one of this Nature, (I know not if there were any more) dated the 25th. of *January* 1688. which was ſign'd by ſeveral *Proteſtants* of the Council, as the Earl of *Granard*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Keting*, *&c.*

Beſides this, Mr. *Oſborn* was ſent down to the *North*, by my Lord Deputy before the March of the Army, to uſe all Perſwaſions to them to lay down their Arms, to tell them the very Day the Army would March, and he kept it. That though

though *Ten* were excepted in the Proclamation, yet he would inſiſt but upon *Three*; and if it ſhould appear that they took up Arms meerly for Self-preſervation, then he would Pardon even the ſaid *three* Perſons alſo. That he demanded no more of them than to deliver up their Arms and ſerviceable Horſes, as you may ſee in Mr. *Osborn*'s Letter to the Lord *Mazereene* of the 9th. of *March*, 1688. which I have taken out of the aboveſaid *Apology for the Proteſtants in Ireland*, and affixed to this n. 3.

Add to this the offers which my Lord Deputy ſent to the Gentlemen in the North by Sir *Robert Colvill*, *viz.* That if his Country-men would continue Quiet in their reſpective Habitations, they ſhould be only Charg'd with the Incumbrance of two Regiments. This is told in the *Faithful Hiſtory*, p. 10. and this was long before the March of that Army to the *North*. I have heard of ſeveral other *Meſſages*, and even *Arts*, that my Lord *Tyrconnel* uſed to Quiet the Diſturbances in the *North*, of which he was, at the beginning, very Apprehenſive, and uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to appeaſe them, as all the Accounts the *Iriſh Proteſtants* have Printed here do with one Conſent declare: And I have heard ſome of them ſay, That they dreaded nothing ſo much as that *Tyrconnel* durſt not ſend an Army againſt them, and that the *Iriſh* would ſubmit without any Oppoſition, and ſo they would get no *Forfeitures*, ſo much they overvalued, and their Enemies feared the ſtrength of the *North*, though both lived to ſee themſelves miſtaken.

Let this ſuffice as to the firſt Point, *viz.* That my Lord *Tyrconnel* did not forget to *ſummon* the *North*, before he ſent down the Army againſt them in *March*, 1688. If repeated *Proclamations* and *Meſſages* may be called *Summons*.

As to the ſecond, of the great *Robbers* in the *North*. We do not ſpeak now of the common Robberies of High-waymen. That has always been, and will be in all Countries, more or leſs; but of ſuch Armed Bands of Robbers as forc'd the *whole North* to Arm and Regiment themſelves, and enter into *Aſſociations* and *Confederacies*, and a formal War to defend themſelves againſt theſe Robbers, who, he ſays, were Men *intruſted by the Lord Deputy with Arms and Employments*; ſo not common Robbers. And by the Account of all that

came from the *North*, this was ſo far from being true, that the *Iriſh there* were in mortal Fear of the *Proteſtants*, and commonly durſt not ſleep in their Houſes, but lay abroad in the Fields leaſt they ſhould fall upon them: No *Iriſh* were ſuffered to live in the Country who did not take out Protections from ſuch of the *Proteſtant* Gentry as were allowed by the *Aſſociators* to grant ſuch Protections: Nor durſt they Travel from their own Houſes without Paſſes, The *Proteſtants* made them contribute equally, *at leaſt*, with themſelves in all their new Levies, and forced them to work upon their new Fortifications, at their Pleaſure, which they did without grudging, and any thing to pleaſe thoſe who were abſolutely their Maſters, and in whoſe hands they reckoned their Lives to lye every moment; and many Inſults and Threatnings they bore from the Commonality of the *Proteſtants*, who made full uſe of their finding themſelves at Liberty from all Government, and to domineere over thoſe who were intirely at their mercy: The *Faithful Hiſtory*, p. 9. ſays, *Amidſt thoſe Convulſions* (Robberies in other Parts) *the North only remained undiſturbed.*

Our Author himſelf, in what I have already quoted, ſays plainly, That the *Proteſtants* kept *the whole Country* within their Aſſociations *from being Pillaged.* Where then were theſe great Robberies he ſpeaks of? He may ſay, *In other Parts* of *Ireland.* But that is not our preſent ſubject, but only the Condition of the *North.* And the Author places the Scene there, when he ſays, *That they* (the Gentlemen in the *North*) *did not attempt any thing upon theſe Armed Robbers, except in their own defence, when Invaded and Aſſaulted by them, nor killed any but whom they found actually Robbing.* So that all this muſt be in the *North*, where many Witneſſes atteſt, and the Author himſelf confeſſes, there was no ſuch thing. But p 100. he endeavours to prove it from Judge *Keating*'s Letter; the Paſſage is, p. 349. where the Judge ſays, *In this Juncture of Affairs, the Thieves and Robbers are become numerous,* &c.

Firſt, When was this? The Letter is dated the 29th. of *Dec.* 1688. This, as has been ſhewn, was after the *Aſſociations* in the *North*, and their being actually in Arms. And indeed when the Reins of Government were taken off the Necks of the People, there was nothing but Robbing and Depreda-

Depredations on all hands, which was the natural effect of it. But Judge *Keating* does not say it was the *Irish* robb'd the *English*, nor the *English* the *Irish*, for indeed they robb'd one another where they were able, and stood in equal fear, as he tells you, of one another; just as the Parts of the Country were planted, that is, as the *Irish* or the *British* were most numerous, or in best posture for War. And he says plainly, p. 348. That *the Protestants far exceeded them* (the *Irish*) *in the Northern Parts, and were extraordinarily well Arm'd and Hors'd.* So that in the *North* the *Irish* stood in fear of the *Protestants*, and therefore they were not the Robbers *there.*

But our Author draws several Observables, p. 100. from this Letter. *'Tis observable*, says he, *in this Letter, First, That the Lord Deputy owns*—— So he makes this Letter the Act of the Lord Deputy; because, as he says before, it was written by my Lord Deputies command, and perused by him. This he only asserts, and we have proof what stress is to be laid upon that; besides, he raises a mean Character of his Friend Judge *Keating*, to think that he should write Lyes for the Lord Deputy's command: If he did not, then *it was not the Irish Army, but the Cottiers and Idlers who were the Robbers.* For so his Letter says; *And this*, says our Author, *sufficiently shews the Falshood of the Allegation whereby the Papists would excuse themselves, as if they had not begun to Rob, till the Protestant Associations were set on foot, whereas those were sometime after this Letter, and occasioned by the Robberies mentioned in it.*

This is contradicted by every *Irish Protestant*, and all their Narratives, as has been shewn; but nothing abates the Author's Talent of Asserting boldly. Whence in another *Observable* upon this Letter, he would have it believed that the Papists *were in no fear from the Protestants*: Which is not only against Matter of Fact, and fully attested, But it is against common Sence, or even Possibility. Whoever knows the Temper of both Sorts of these Men could never think it possible, That where the *Protestants* were many more in Number, and all up in Arms, chiefly pretended to be in odium to the *Irish Papists*, whom they called *Bloody Dogs, Inhumane Murtherers, Cut-throats*, &c. and *Remember* 41. which was the usual Salutation they gave them, Who will think those *Irish*

were

were not afraid? Yet our Author will by no means allow it, for he has ſaid it.

Now we are come to the third Point, *viz. Whether the Northern Aſſociators gave no other Provocation to the Government, than to defend themſelves againſt thoſe Robbers?* And this need no longer be inſiſted on, having ſhewn, That there were no ſuch Robbers.

But I pray the Author to reſolve, If the beginning of their Aſſociating in *Sept.* 1688. and their actual Addreſs to the P. of O. in *Nov.* following, was only to ſave themſelves from Robbers? From being Robb'd by thoſe *poor Iriſh* whom they had panting under their Feet, in as much Subjection as ever a *Hawk* had a *Lark*? He ſays, *The Aſſociators never attempted any thing even upon the Armed Robbers, except when they were Invaded and Aſſaulted by them.*

This was modeſt indeed! But were the Inhabitants of *Eneskillen* Invaded or Aſſaulted by the two Companies, againſt whom they marcht out in Arms four Miles before they came near the Town? Or was *Derry* Aſſaulted by my Lord of *Antrim*'s Regiment before they Fir'd their Cannon from the Walls againſt them?

But I have ſome further Queſtions to ask, from what I have learn'd out of the *Iriſh Proteſtants* Narratives, and from ſome of themſelves; our Author ſays, *It is notorious, that the Proteſtants* (he means before the Deſcent of King *James*'s Army into the *North* in *March* 1688. for that is it we are ſpeaking of) *never killed any whom they did not find actually Robbing.* But I muſt tell our Author, that it is much more notoriouſly known, and granted by all the *Iriſh Proteſtants, nemine contradicente*, That upon the 11th. of *Feb.* 1688. there were ſome of Colonel *Cormock O Neil*'s Troop of Dragoons killed by the Proteſtant Forces at *Tuam* upon *Loughneagh*: the Quarrel you may ſee in the *Faithful Hiſtory*, p. 26. *viz.* They endeavoured that way to eſcape the *Aſſociators*, and get to their Quarters. But the *Aſſociate Troops* were too watchful, purſued them, killed ſome, and having given them a total Defeat, diſperſed that Troop of *O Neil*'s (he was then a profeſt Proteſtant) and built a ſmall Fort at the Paſs, and Garriſon'd it with Sixty Men. This mightily enrag'd the Lord Deputy, That the Aſſociators ſhould not be

be content to ſtand upon the Defenſive, but to be the firſt that ſhould enter into Blood in a Hoſtile manner; of which there were ſeveral other Inſtances, Capt. *Poe* was killed, as he was a Foraging, by the Gariſon of *Newrie*.

But to return to the Story of Colonel *Cormock O Neil*; He having frequent Notices ſent him from Friends of his about *Moyrah* where liv'd Sir *Arthur Rawden* (generally then known by the Name of *The Cock of the North*, becauſe of his Boldneſs and great Forwardneſs in carrying on the *Aſſociation*) that Sir *Arthur* intended to ſeize him in his Houſe, and make him Priſoner, he, for his Security, retired to *Carrickfergus*, where part of his Regiment of Foot was Quartered, leaving his Lady at his Houſe near *Borogh-ſhane*, with the Chaplain of his Regiment *Maurice Dunkin* Clark, Vicar of *Glanarme* in the County of *Antrim*, within eight Miles of *Brogh-ſhane*; thinking that a *Proteſtant Clergy-man*, and well known to all that Country, would be a Protection to his Lady, and the Houſe, ſhe being a *Roman Catholick*, but the Colonel at that time a profeſſed *Proteſtant*: She hearing that the Confederate Aſſociators had fallen upon her Husband's Troop of Dragoons at *Tuam* upon *Logh Neagh*, on Mund. 11. *Febr.* 88. grew apprehenſive of danger to her ſelf, and on Tueſday the 12th. ſhe went to Mr. *White*'s Houſe in *Borogh-ſhane*, a Presbyterian Miniſter, who did protect her, not without ſome difficulty, from a Regiment of the *Confederates* under the Command of Mr. *Adare* (then made a Colonel by the P. of O. and ſince a Knight by K. *W.*) aſſiſted by Lieutenant *Mitchelburn* ſince made a Colonel. Theſe marched through *Borogh-ſhane* to the Siege of *Carrickfergus* (of which preſently) upon *Aſhwedneſday*, 13 *Febr.* 1688. *a notorious Day which they did thus Solemnize!*) and would needs Rifle this Lady, becauſe ſhe was a *Roman-Catholick*, and her Husband a Colonel in *Carrickfergus*, which they were going to Beſiege. Mr. *Dunkin*, thinking he might have ſome Intereſt among them, at leaſt for his Character, endeavoured to perſwade them from ſuch a brutal Action; but they looked upon him as an Enemy, becauſe he was in the King's Service, and they not only Robb'd him, and beſides what was his own, took from him a Silver Bowl belonging to the Colonel, but ſtript him, and his Man, and one *Arthur Dobbing*, a Gentleman attending

upon the Lady; and would have broke into the House to have Robb'd her, if not worse, had not Mr. *White* violently interpos'd, and had that Credit with them, to preserve the Lady, who was half dead with fear, and could hardly be led into her Coach: But Mr. *White* went with her himself, till he brought her near *Shanes-Castle*, the House of the Lady Marchioness of *Antrim*, to whom Mrs. *O Neil* fled for Protection, and where she had a great fit of Sickness, occasioned by these Frights. The Associators having let her thus Escape, thought fit to Plunder her House, which they did effectually, leaving nothing they could find belonging to the Colonel, or to her.

Was *this Lady*, was Mr. *Dunkin*, were *the Servants of the Colonel's House*, or his *Stock*, *Goods*, and *Furniture*, actually Assaulting and Robbing these *Associators*?

Had they read the *Commmations* of that Day in the Service of the Church, they might have found what Thanks they deserv'd at God's hands; and what Blessings these Nations were to expect for what Things they were a doing *that Day*. The Anniversary of which Day was Celebrated with the Sacrifice of *Glenco* in *Scotland*, 13 *Febr.* 1692.

But to Return to our History. The Associators did proceed, and resolved to Besiege *Carrickfergus*, of which you have a pleasant Account in the *Faithful History*, p. 27. to 31. They first ordered such Provisions as were design'd for that Place to be intercepted, and amongst others Colonel *Edmunston*, by command from the Grand Council of the *Association*, seiz'd on a Boat laden with Provision, at *Broad Island*; which was intended for my Lord *Antrim's* private Family. They do not pretend they found this Boat a Robbing, or that it Invaded or Assaulted them. In short, they actually Besieged *Carrickfergus* about the 20 *Febr.* 1688 it is true they did not take it. The Misfortunes of that Siege I leave to the Chronicle. But it is not to be doubted they had prevail'd, if they had had either Cannon, Mortar, or Scaling Ladder; for the Men upon command March't up, and Fired their Musquets against the Walls; and after they were Saluted by the Cannon from the Castle, they went back again. The truth is, They thought to have Surprised it, but it would not do.

There-

Therefore on the 21st *February* 1688. they conſulted how to come off with Honor, and enter'd into Articles, not to Surrender the Town, but to Raiſe the Siege: And theſe Articles were made to conſiſt with the Reputation of the *Confederate* Generals of the *Aſſociation*. One was, That Colonel *Cormock O Neil* ſhould Disband his Regiment *(which was not in his Power to do.)* Another, That the Earl of *Antrim* ſhould be *Permitted* to take ſuch and ſuch Proviſions into *Carrickfergus*; and *Permitted* to ſend ſuch Letters to *Dublin*, as he ſhould ſhew to the Earl of *Mount-Alexander*, and other of the *Confederate* Nobility and Gentry. This was Great! It was taking ſomething more upon them than meerly to Defend themſelves from Robbers, when actually Aſſaulted by them, which our Author ſays, was all they did.

But it not being likely that theſe Articles ſhould be kept, therefore (as a Salvo for the future Breach of them) it was put in the eighth Article, *That theſe Articles ſhould continue in force whilſt no more Popiſh Forces were Sent into, or Raiſed in the Province of* Ulſter.

The *Confederate Aſſociators* would not be ſtinted from Raiſing what Forces they pleas'd: But they would Limit the *King*, that he ſhould Raiſe no more. This was not very likely to hold. And therefore theſe Articles were not long liv'd. But they ſerv'd to grace the Retreat of the *Confederate Army* from before *Carrickfergus*.

The ſame unfortunate Stars prevented their ſeveral Deſigns upon the Gariſons of *Newry* and *Charlimont*. So that though they often attempted, nothing ſucceeded with them, except my Lord *Blaynie*'s ſurpriſing a Troop of Dragoons at *Ardmagh*, whom they diſarm'd, took their Horſes from them, and made the Officers Priſoners. Did they find theſe Men actually Robbing whom they ſurpriſed in their Beds, or careleſs in their Guard-houſe?

They were not ſo lucky in their Deſign upon Sir *Thomas Newcomen*'s Regiment at *Lisburn*, though ſeveral of the Officers of the Regiment were upon the Plot, as Captain *Leighton*, Captain *Brimingham*, Lieutenant *Barnes*, Lieutenant *Tubman*, &c.

And though, as the *Faithful Hiſtory* tells you, pag. 12. Captain *Leighton* engaged to diſarm the whole Gariſon, with the

the Assistance only of as many Men as might serve to bring off their Arms, and that Sir *Arthur R.* was advanced with 500 Men within five Miles of the Town to make good the Attempt, yet it miscarry'd; the Plot was discovered, and Sir *Thomas* marched away his Regiment; only those Officers who had ingaged to betray the Guard, and deliver the Arms, thought fit to stay behind, and run the Fate of the *Association.*

Take notice here that this was one of the *two Regiments* which by my Lord *Tyrconnel*'s Ingagement were to be the *Quota* of the *North*, to free them from all fear, or a possibility of their being either Assassinated or Plundered by the Army among them; who, by this means, were so few, as to be perfectly in the Power of the Country, and Sir *Thomas*, who commanded one of them, was a *Protestant*. The other Regiment was my Lord *Antrim*'s, and both these (as the *Faithful History* tells, p. 11.) happned at this time to be Garison'd in *Lisburn*, *Belfast*, *Carickfergus*, and other adjacent Places. *When upon a solemn Debate by a Committee of such as had Subscribed the Association it was concluded, that* both *these* Regiments *should be disarm'd, and the Castle of* Carrickfergus *secured, in which were Arms for two Regiments more.*

Upon the strength of this Attempt they purposed to have opposed Tyrconnel *upon equal Terms; and by putting a Garison into the* Newry, *they hoped to have stop'd that Pass, and thereby to have secur'd the two Counties of* Downe *and* Antrim *for the Protestant Interest.*

These are the Words of the History. And let our Author judge if this was only Acting *upon the Defensive*, never Attempting any thing but in their own Defence, *when Invaded and Assaulted by Robbers.* Which he asserts as a *notorious Truth.*

At a Place called *Killough* in the County of *Downe*, The *Associators* seized some Barrels of Gun-powder, which the Lord Deputy was sending to *Londonderry.*

Long before this, Sir *Gerard Irwin* a *Protestant*, whose Estate lies near *Eneskillen*, carrying Arms, by order of the Government, to some of the King's Forces in the *North*, was set upon, in the County of *Cavan*, by Gentlemen of the *Association*, all the Arms were taken from him, and made use of to Arm their own Men. They did not find him *actually Robbing*, nor did

did he *Invade* or *Assault* them. All these things our Author has to Answer.

And many more Instances might be given: They tell me that hardly a Day past in the *North*, without something of this Nature. The Prison at *Cavan* was broken open by the *Associators*, and the Prisoners set at Liberty. The like was done in other Northern Counties; for ought I know in all. Of this the Lord Deputy complains in that same Proclamation which our Author quotes of the 7th of *March* 88. Our Author should have considered, whether these Prisoners or their Creditors were actually Robbing and Assaulting these *Associators*, or whether this was no Offence against the Government, at their own hand, and without Law, to release Debtors, Fellons, Thieves, and Murderers? and how he will bring this about to be meerly Acting on the *Defensive*. As likewise their ordering the Collectors of the Revenue (most of whom, if not all, in the *North*, joyn'd with them) to bring in to them the King's Money (after the Example of their Friends in *England*) *being for their Majesty's Service*. But their Reign was so short, that I think their Accompts amounted to no great matter.

But to make an end of this Head, *viz. Whether the Northern Associators gave no other Provocation to the Government before the Descent of the Army in* March 88. *than to defend themselves against Robbers*? Before this Army came down, they had received Commissions from the Prince of *Orange*, even before he was declared King in *England*, for his Commissions bore date before that time, *viz. Feb.* 5. 88. as you will see by one of the Subaltern Commissions which was shewn to me, the Copy of which I have annexed *numb.* 18. These Commissions were brought over by Captain *Leighton*, whom the *Associators* sent to the Prince, to manage their Business, and procure these Commissions, which I am told his Highness was very unwilling to grant, thinking it rash and unseasonable; but was over-powered by their importunity. In short, they not only acted by these Commissions, but proclaimed the *Prince* for their *King*, before the Descent of that Army. This you will allow to be somewhat of a higher nature than bare *Self-defence* against *Robbers*. And now judge, whether, as our Author says, this, (viz. *Defending themselves*

Robers

against [illegible]) was all the reason the Lord Deputy and Council had to call them *Rebels*, &c. and to send that Army to Reduce them. Yet this Author, from p. 111. to 117. inveighs bitterly against the Government's *disarming* the Protestants in *Dublin* 24 *Feb.* 88. and again by King *James*'s Proclamation dated 20 *July* 89. and makes this no less a *Tyranny* than the *French Dragooning*, and a plain Design to rob them of all their Estates and Property, and put them to a *Massacre*.

But because he must foresee how horribly ridiculous, even to madness, it wou'd appear to make all these Declamations for *disarming ones Enemies*, which none but Fools would neglect, he brings himself off thus. C. 3. f. 8. n. 20. p. 116. *It may perhaps be imagined* (says he) *by those who are Strangers to our Affairs, that we had abus'd our Arms to oppress or wrong our Neighbours, or to oppose the King, and therefore deserv'd to lose them. But it is observable, that it doth not appear that any one* Protestant *in* Ireland, before this disarming, *had us'd his Arms to injure any* Roman Catholick, *nor did they hurt any that was not either actually Robbing them of their Goods, or Assaulting their Persons; no, not in the* North, *where they refus'd to give up their Arms; they kept even there on the Defensive, and offended no Man but when first assaulted: so that there was not the least Reason or Colour to disarm us.* Thus our Author; and a great deal more to the same purpose.

You have heard what the Protestants did before the first Disarming, 24 *Feb.* 88. But the second, which was 20 *July* 89. was in the very heat of the War 'twixt King *James* and the *Northern Associators: Kirk* was come from *England*, and Riding with his Ships in *Lough Foyle*, for the relief of *Derry*. This *Disarming* was but ten days before Lieutenant-General *Mack Carty* was defeated, and himself taken Prisoner at *Eneskillen*, and but eleven days before the Relief of *Derry*, which was the first of *August*, and the other the last of *July* 89. and a Month after, *Schomberg* landed with the whole *English* Army. Yet all this notwithstanding, our Author is very sure, that *not one Protestant in* Ireland, *before this Disarming, no not in the* North, had oppos'd King *James*; *so that there was not the least Reason or Colour to Disarm them.* This Author knows very well, that long before this the People of *Derry*

took

took out their Pardon for ſhutting their Gates againſt the Earl of *Antrim*'s Regiment; which was a confeſſion of ſome ſort of Guilt. Though none could imagine he had ever been informed of theſe things. It is true he was in *Dublin* at that time, and ſo might not know, if you can think that poſſible. But he has been ſince in the *North*, where his Friends and Relations live, and is now in a great Poſt there, even in *Derry*, and was a conſiderable while before he wrote this Book: and if his Intelligence can be ſo bad, where he pretends, it is capable of knowing moſt, we may juſtly ſuſpect him in other matters, and where he aſſumes to paſs Judgment upon the *Arcana* of all the *States of Europe*, as if he had been of the Cabinet Council to all the Governments in Chriſtendom. He tells you, p. 9 where King *Charles* the Second miſtook his Meaſures; and if he had taken the Author's Advice, wou'd, in all probability, have humbled that *French Monarch* to the advantage of all *Europe*. And p. 14 and 15, he reads the ſame *Politicks* to *France*, *Savoy*, the *Emperor*, &c. and tells them their true Intereſt, and what may ruin their Countries. But this is ſo familiar with him, and you will meet with it ſo often, that I will not trouble you with Quotations; you may trace him by the *Obſervator*. Thus much for what he aſſerts n. 9. p. 105. *viz.* That there was no Provocation given by the *Proteſtants* in the *North* for the Lord Deputy to ſend down an Army againſt them in *March* 1688.

All this concerns the *North*, where this Author then was not; but to ſhew that the *Proteſtants* even in *Dublin*, where the Author was, were not idle, he tells, p. 97. and 98. of a Plot they had; no leſs than to ſeize the *Lord Deputy* himſelf, with the Caſtle of *Dublin*, where the Stores of Arms and Ammunition lay. And this he takes pains to demonſtrate to have been very feaſible, and diſcovers plainly a regret, and diſdain at their Loyalty who hinder'd it: He in a witty Sarcaſm lays the blame upon *that mighty Veneration to the very Name of Authority, in which the Proteſtants had been educated*; and particularly he ſays, Lord *Mountjoy* laboured to prevent this Plot *as if he himſelf had been to periſh in it.* That was for his Pains, he needed not to have been ſo fierce.

But

But though their not agreeing among themselves, and their being yet tender and unacquainted with Rebellion, and therefore scared at the first Sin, like fearful Sinners; tho they had not got rid of the *Slavish, Nonresistant Doctrine*, (I believe our Author himself was not quite got out it then) yet they had made such Progress at that very Beginning, that none discovered this Plot; and it may be we should not have known it at this distance, if our Author had not oblig'd us with the Discovery; for I never heard of it before, and he tells us that this was long before K. *James* deserted *England*. It was when he sent Commissioners to treat with the *Prince of Orange*: But I think, under favour, that our Author did not do well to make this publick, because it does justifie the Suspicion which the Government had of the Protestants there from the beginning.

But this Author has sometimes a strange faculty of Forgetfulness; for in the very next Words after telling of this Plot of the *Protestants* in *Dublin*, and how prevented, p. 98. he says, *The truth is, it was an unanimous Resolution of all the Protestants in the Kingdom, that they would not be the Aggressors; and they held stedfastly to their Resolution*, as you have heard.

The matter is, in every Paragraph he is too intent to carry the Point he is upon to the utmost, lest it should lose by his telling; therefore sometimes he may slip as to the exactness of Truth. This is the reason he so often seems to contradict himself, and builds that up in one place which he throws down in another. Who would not think he had been in earnest, p. 226. where telling how *Julian* the Apostate put off the Primitive Christians Petitions for Justice, by telling them, their *Master advised them to be patient, and pronounced them blessed when persecuted. And we*, says this Author, *did exactly follow this Advice, though given in raillery, and did not make the least step to right our selves by Force, till God's Providence appeared signally for these Kingdoms, in raising above us a Deliverer; and putting the Crown on their Majesties Heads.* Thus our Author. This was to let People think, if they pleased, that the *Protestants in Ireland* did not make *the least step* to right themselves by Force against King *James* till the *Coronation* of K. *W.* and Q. *M.* But if that will not pass, then our Author saves himself by saying, he did not mean that, but till God raised

them

them up a Deliverer. And when was that? I ſuppoſe as ſoon as they knew of the P. of *Orange*'s Deſign to come and help them: and that was as ſoon as King *James* himſelf does charge them with it. This Author means, they would not take Arms, till they thought to do ſome good with them: But why did he joyn theſe two Terms of the *Prince's firſt Deſign* and his *Coronation*, ſo cloſe together, with the Copulative *And*, as if he had been ſpeaking of the ſelf ſame Action? It was to give you leave to take it for the ſame, if you did not mind it. But all this while, where is this ſuffering Perſecution, which this Author ſays, they did ſo exactly follow? He means, they ſuffered while they could not help it.

But let us go on to ſome more of his Matters of Fact.

Of Lord *Tyrconnel*'s haſte to run the Nation into Blood.

The next Paragraph, c. 3. §. 8. n. 10. p. 106. he ſays, That the War was wholy imputable to my Lord *Tyrconnel*, who could not be prevailed with to defer ſending the Army to the *North* till King *James* ſhould come, who was then ſoon expected, but that he *haſted to make the Parties irreconcileable, by engaging them in Blood, and by letting looſe the Army to Spoil and Plunder*. That my Lord *Tyrconnel* ſtood in fear of the *North*, inſtead of provoking it, I have ſhewn, and is to be more at large ſeen in the above Quoted Narratives.

But in the next place, as to letting looſe his Army to Spoil and Plunder.

The *Proteſtants* in *Ireland* worſe treated by K. *William*'s Army than by K. *James*'s.

I am ſorry we have it to ſay that they treated the *Proteſtants* in the *North*, after all the aboveſaid Provocations, with much greater Humanity (whether *then* put on, or natural, I will not diſpute) than their *Fellow-Proteſtants* uſed them when *Scomberg* went over about the end of *Auguſt*, 1689. who (as I am informed by undeniable Vouchers) committed ten times more Devaſtations and Barbarities upon the *Proteſtants* in a Month than the *Iriſh* did from *March* to *Auguſt*; when all the *North*, except the Towns of *Derry* and *Enniskillen*, were abſolutely in their Power.

I ſuppoſe you will admit Dr. *Gorge* as a good Evidence in this Caſe, who was at that time Secretary to the General *Schomberg*, and therefore had beſt reaſon to know. Beſides in his Letter directed to Colonel *Hamilton* (which I have inſerted n. 2. Appendix.) he appeals to him (whoſe Eſtate

lies in that Country) and it was notorious to all the Protestants there. In this Letter, the Dr. tells, *how it was Resolved to treat the* Irish *Protestants of* Ulster *rather as Enemies than Friends,——that the Goods and Stocks of the Protestant Inhabitants once seized by the Enemy were Forfeited and ought not to be Rest or'd, but given as encouragement to the Soldiers——that their (the Protestants) Oaths and Complaints were neither to be Believed nor Redress'd, that so an easier and safer approach might be made to invade the little left them by the* Irish——*That free Quartering was the least Retaliation that Protestants could give, for being Restored to their former Estates——If you add to these, the Pressing of Horses at pleasure, Quartering at pleasure, Robbing and Plundering at pleasure, Denying the People Bread, or Seed of their own Corn, though the General by his publick Proclamation requires both, and some Openly and Publickly contemning and scorning the said Proclamation, whereby Multitudes of Families are already reduced to want of Bread, and left only to Beg, and Steal, or Starve. These being the Practices, and these the Principles, and both as well known to you as to me, it cannot be wondered that the* oppress'd Protestants *here should report us worse than the* Irish.

May be you may think that these poor Protestants had provok'd the Army some way. No, says the Dr. *To me it seems most strange, but yet it is true, that notwithstanding all the Violence, Oppression and Wrong, done by these (the* Enneskillen *and* Derry *Forces) and other of our Army on the Impoverished, Oppressed, and Plundered Protestant Inhabitants of this Province (*Ulster*) and the little Encouragement and great Discouragements they have had from us, yet you know what I esteem as a great Presage of future Good, they continue and remain as Firm and Faithful to us, as the* Irish *Papists against us. How frequently do we hear them tell us, That though we continue to injure them, Rob and Destroy them, yet they must Trust in us, and be True and Faithful to us?* &c.

These are the Words of the Doctor's Letter, and I suppose will be thought but an over good Retortion of this Author's Objection, *viz.* of the Spoil and Plunder committed by King *James*'s Army. Whose Discipline and good Government the Dr. in that same Letter does commend exceedingly above that of King *William*'s Army.

And

And now as to the other Point, *viz.* My Lord *Tyrconnel*'s haſte in ſending that Army into the *North*, I ſuppoſe our Author intends this for *Politicks*: and upon that head (without medling with the Goodneſs or Badneſs of the Cauſe) I think my Lord *Tyrconnel* was rather *too ſlow*, to ſuffer the *Proteſtants* in the *North* to be *Arming*, *Inliſting*, *Aſſociating*, againſt the Government, actually *Aſſaulting* the Kings Forts and Garriſons, *Diſarming* his Souldiers, and *killing* ſome of them; at laſt, publickly renouncing the King, and proclaiming a Foreign Prince for their King, and acting in his Name, and by his Commiſſion; and all this was a doing, and viſibly carrying on from *September* to *March*, which truly in *Politicks* was rather *too long* to ſuffer it to run. And if that Army had not gone down when it did againſt the *Aſſociators* in the *North*, it wou'd never have been able to reduce them as it did: which appears by the Defence a few of them made afterwards at *Derry* and *Eniskillen*. And therefore I do not ſee any ground to blame my Lord *Tyrconnel* for ſending that Army *ſo ſoon*, conſidering that he thought it a good Cauſe in which he was engag'd. But eſpecially conſidering that our Author himſelf calls him a *Fool* for not dealing more briskly with the *North* in time. He laughs at the Lord Deputy for leaving *Derry* ſo ill guarded, as that they were able to ſeize it; *It proceeded* (ſays this Author, c. 3. f. 8. n. 6. p. 103.) *from his* (the Lord Deputies) *own Ignorance or Negligence, who had left that Garriſon, the only one of any conſiderable Strength in* Ulſter, *where moſt Proteſtants lived, without one Soldier to guard it.* This is the Thanks he got for giving them that Opportunity which they had, and they cry out upon him as a bloody-minded Man becauſe he would not give them *longer time*, then above three Months after their firſt ſeizing of *Derry*; for it was ſo long before he ſent the Army againſt them. It was the *7th* or *8th* of *December* 88. that the *Proteſtants* ſeized *Derry* the firſt time, and the *Iriſh* Army did not come to *Drommore* in the *North* till the *14th* of *March* following, tho all that time the *Proteſtants* were improving their Opportunity, and every day committing Inſults upon that ſmall part of the Army (only two Regiments) which was Quartered among them: But, as our Author ſays

in

in the ſame Page, *the Lord Deputy bethought himſelf too late of his Error, but could never retrieve it.*

Mr. *Boyſe*'s Narrative, p. 13. ſays, That my Lord *Tyrconnel* deferr'd the ſending down his Army *twenty days* after it had been firſt reſolved on in Council.

I have another Account which confirms all this; *viz.* The Earl of *Granard* upon his leaving *Dublin*, about the beginning of *Feb.* 88. to go to *Caſtle Forbes*, deſired a Perſon who went with him as far as *Chappeliſard*, to pretend ſome Buſineſs with my *Lord Deputy*, on purpoſe to find out whether he deſigned to ſend the Army againſt the *North*; and that Perſon went to the *Lord Deputy* that ſame day, and asked him why he would ſuffer a Rabble in the *North* to affront the Government; ſeeing a few of the Army would diſperſe them, the Lord *Deputy* adſwered, That he was unwilling to ingage in Blood, hoping they would of themſelves reflect and come to a better temper. But that now ſince General **Scevington* had made the firſt Rupture by falling upon and killing ſome of the Souldiers at *Tuam* he would ſend with what Expedition he could to Quaſh the Rebellion, and let them blame themſelves for the Conſequence. This I have from that Perſon himſelf; and yet the Army did not go to the *North* till the 11th. or 12th. of the *March* following.

* This was a Son of the Lord *Maſſereen's*, whoſe Souldiers aſſaulted the King's Forces at *Tuam*.

But this Author ſays (as above c. 3. § 8. n. 10.) that if he had delayed a little longer till King *James* had come, then in all Probability, *if King* James *himſelf appeared amongſt them, and offered them Terms, they would have complied with him at leaſt ſo far as to ſubmit Quietly to his Government.*

If the Author thinks this, I confeſs, he is the firſt *Proteſtant* of *Ireland* that ever I found of that Opinion.

And the iſſue did pretty well prove it: For after, when the *Aſſociators* were beaten, at *Drumore*, at *Colerain*, at *Clady*, and driven into *Derry* and *Enneskillen*, and when King *James* appeared amongſt them, and offered them what Terms they pleaſed, they value themſelves upon refuſing all Terms, and holding out: But may be this Author thinks, That if they had beaten King *James*'s Army, they would have been better diſpoſed to have received Terms from him.

But,

But, pray, how does all this agree with the Character which this Author raiſes of K. *J.* in this Book? Wherein he repreſents him as a faithleſs, mercileſs, and bigotted Tyrant, who deſigned to deſtroy all the Proteſtants, and went as far in it as he could, and employed Perſons moſt inclined and fitted to do it; and that no Truſt was to be given to his Word, or to his Oath, *&c.* *The Author's Character of K. J.*

And yet this is the Man, whom in all probability, this Author ſays, the Proteſtants in *Ireland* would have ſubmitted to, if he had but appeared amongſt them, and offered them Terms.

But I muſt tell the Author, That as to K. *J.* in his own Perſon, there is another Man has given his Character, who had more reaſon to know him than this Author, and is at leaſt as good a Judge; that is the Lord *Danby*, (ſtil'd at preſent *Lord Marqueſs of* Carmarthen) who in the Speech he made to the Gentlemen aſſembled in *Yorkſhire*, in the Infancy of this Revolution, repreſented K. *J.* to them under as fair a Character as could be given of a great *Prince* and a good *Man*; and that no Nation in the World would be happier in a King, if he were but reſcued from the evil Counſel of the *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, *&c.* And I never heard any about his Perſon ſay, but that he was a very good natur'd Man. Even his Enemies charge his Miſcarriages to his Zeal for Religion: *A very ſingular fault in theſe Times!* *Lord* Danby's *Character of K. J.*

And even as to his Carriage in *Ireland*, I have heard not a few of the *Proteſtants* confeſs, That they owed their Preſervation and Safety, next under God, chiefly to the Clemency of K. *J.* who reſtrained, all he could, the Inſolence and Outrage of their Enemies; of which I can give you ſome remarkable Inſtances, and good Vouchers. I appeal to the E. of *Granard*, whether Duke *Powis* did not give him Thanks from K. *J.* for the Oppoſition he made in the Houſe of Lords to the paſſing *the Act of Attainder*, and *the Act for Repeal of the Acts of Settlement*; and deſired that he and the other *Proteſtant* Lords ſhould uſe their Endeavours to obſtruct them. To which, the Lord *Granard* anſwered, That they were too few to effect that; but if the King would not have them paſs, his way was to engage *K. J. oppoſes the Act of Attainder, and Repeal of the Acts of Settlement.* *He encourages the Proteſtant Lords to ſpeak againſt it in Parliament.*

gage some of the *Roman Catholick* Lords to stop them. To which the Duke replied, with an Oath, That the King durst not let them know that he had a mind to have them stopt. And yet this Author, *c.* 2. *s.* 5. *n.* 3. *p.* 23. would have us believe *That the Duke used his Interest with the King to put a stop to them, but was not able to do it.* I farther appeal to that noble Lord the E. of *Granard*, whether the same day that the News of the driving the Protestants before the Walls of *Derry* come to *Dublin*, as his Lordship was going to the Parliament-House, he did not meet K. *J.* who asked him where he was going? His Lordship answered, to enter his Protestation against the Repeal of the Acts of Settlement: Upon which K. *J.* told him, *That he was fallen into the hands of a People who rammed that and many other things down his Throat.* His Lordship took that occasion to tell his Majesty of the driving before *Derry*. The King told him that he was grieved for it; That he had sent immediate Orders to discharge it; and that none but a barbarous *Moscovite* (so he stiled General *Rosen*, who commanded that driving, who thereby it seems was bred or born in *Moscovy*,) could have thought of so cruel a Contrivance.

Let me add to this Testimony of my Lord *Granard*'s what I had from the Mouth of a *Scots Clergyman*, who being in King *James*'s Army the 26th of *June*, 1690. (the Thursday before the *Boyne*) asked Major-General *Maxwell*, a *Roman Catholick*, how K. *J.* came to pass the Act of Attainder, and the Repeal of the Acts of Settlement, being at that time so visibly against his Interest? The General replied, *Sir, if you did but know the Circumstances the King is under, and the Hardships these Men* (the Irish) *put upon him, you would bemoan him with Tears, instead of blaming him. But what would you have him to do? All his other Subjects have deserted him; this is the only Body of Men he has to appear for him; he is in their hands, and he must please them.* Yet this Author affirms confidently, *c.* 3. *s.* 12. *n.* 20. *p.* 163. *That* K. J. *of his own accord was the first who mentioned the Repealing of the Acts of Settlement, in his Speech at the opening of the Parliament in* Dublin. But the Author has not annexed that Speech in his long *Appendix*, where many other Papers of greater Bulk, less Consequence, and much

harder

harder to be procured, are inſerted at large: But no doubt he had a Reaſon for it; therefore I have annexed it to this, *No.* 1. and there you will ſee not a Word of what this Author avers, but rather the contrary, *viz.* That the King did not deſire a Repeal of the Acts of Settlement, but only a Relief to ſuch as had been injured by thoſe Acts, which may happen in the juſteſt Acts in the World, eſpecially of the Settlement of a whole Nation, after ſuch a Rebellion and terrible Revolution as that of 41. And K. *J.* there deſires no farther for them, than may be conſiſtent *with Reaſon, Juſtice, and the publick Good of his People.* All the Words of his Speech, which relate to the *Acts of Settlement*, are theſe, *I ſhall alſo moſt readily conſent to the making ſuch good and wholſome Laws as may be for the general Good of the Nation, the Improvement of Trade, and the Relieving ſuch as have been injured by the late Acts of Settlement, as far forth as may be conſiſtent with Reaſon, Juſtice, and the Publick Good of my People.* Theſe are his Words; and if our Author had ſet them down, he would have thought it a hard Task to have found fault with them. I never heard any *Proteſtant* ſay but that there were many hard Caſes, and even unjuſt, in the *Acts of Settlement*: But they excuſe it, by ſaying that it is impoſſible to be otherwiſe in ſo general and great a Settlement, where ſo many thouſands are concerned; and that it is better to bear with that, than to unſettle a Nation, which may have worſe Conſequences, and fall into the like Miſtakes again and again. And this ſeems to be King *James*'s Senſe of that Matter all along. But will any ſay that ſuch as ſhall appear to be injured ought not to be redreſſed, if a way can be found agreeable to *Reaſon, Juſtice*, and *Publick Good*? This would be to plead expreſly againſt *Reaſon* and *Juſtice*, and likewiſe againſt the *Publick Good*. I am told that King *James*'s meaning was, to have a Sum of Money raiſed for ſuch as had been injur'd by the Acts of Settlement; but by no means to encroach upon the Acts: And what Fault could our Author have found with this? unleſs he thinks that Juſtice ought not to be done to the *Iriſh*, or not to be executed *againſt Proteſtants*; which may be the Reaſon why in all his Railings at the cruel Act of Attainder, he has forgot to give one

Rea-

Reaſon why *Rebels* ſhould not be *attainted*, or why theſe *Iriſh Proteſtants* ſhould not have been ſo dealt with, ſuppoſing them to be *Rebels*, as K. *J.* and that Parliament did certainly ſuppoſe. But was it not very cruel to attaint *ſo many*? To this they will reply, was it not as *cruel*, and *more criminal*, that *ſo many* ſhould be *Rebels*? But this is ſaid only for Arguments ſake; for it is moſt certain that K. *J.* did not propoſe, nor was inclined, either to this Act of Attainder, or to the Repeal of the Acts of Settlement, as this Author ſlanderouſly reports of him; but with exceeding ill luck as to his Vouchers, of which he gives another Inſtance, *c.* 3. *ſ.* 12. *n.* 2. *p.* 145. where he ſays it is certain Chief Juſtice *Nugent* and Baron *Rice* ſucceeded in their Deſign, when they came over to England, *in Spring*, 88. *to concert the methods of Repealing the Acts of Settlement.* Whereas all here upon the place know that K. *J.* did then poſitively refuſe to conſent to it; which my Lord *Sunderland* does witneſs in his Letter of the 23 of *March*, 89. and ſays that *the King was reſolved not to think of that year, and perhaps never.* And yet this Author confidently quotes that very Letter in this ſame place, as a Voucher on his ſide; but he has not put it in his *Appendix*: Therefore I have annexed it to this, *No.* 15.

I will give you a farther Proof of K. *James*'s Zeal to preſerve the Acts of *Settlement*. It is well known that the Addreſs of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating*, in behalf of the Purchaſers under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and the Lord Biſhop of *Meath*'s Speech, ſet down at large in this Author's *Appendix*, were ſubſequent to ſeveral Conferences K. *J.* had with ſeveral of the Members of the Houſe of Commons; and with a Committee of that Houſe, in Preſence of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Nugent*, Lord Chief Baron *Rice*, Judge *Daily*, and Attorney-General *Neagle*, and others of the Privy Council; where K. *J.* plainly laid before them the Unreaſonableneſs of their Proceedings; That it was not proper to enter upon ſo great a Matter as the deſtroying the ſaid Acts, in time of War, when all Parties could not be heard; and ſome of the *Roman Catholick* Judges declared, not only to the King, but to the ſaid Committee, and to ſeveral of both Houſes of Parliament

and

and of the Privy Council, That it was unjuſt to break the Acts, and deſtroy Purchaſers, Widows, Orphans, Merchants, and all Traders, on pretence to relieve Widows and Orphans. And one of the Roman Catholick Judges did reduce this into Writing, and ſhewed it to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating*, who had a Copy of it, as appears under his hand; and that the Lord Biſhop of *Meath* had the Peruſal of it, and, as I am credibly informed, had a Copy of it. All which was before the ſaid *Addreſs* and *Speech*; and though ſhorter, is as full for the Preſervation of the Settlement, as the ſaid *Addreſs* and *Speech*. And it appears plainly by what Duke *Powis* ſaid from the King to the Earl of *Granard*, &c. that K. *J.* did encourage the *Proteſtant* Lords of Parliament to oppoſe the Repeal of the Acts of Settlement; and therefore their appearing in this matter ought by no means to be made an Objection againſt K. *J.* but in truth is an Argument of the pains he took to oppoſe the Repeal; and it would be a Scandal to doubt but that theſe Proteſtant Lords meant it at that time ſincerely for King *James*'s Service; which is farther demonſtrable from the Loyal zeal which carried the Lord Biſhop of *Meath* ſo far, as to deſire leave from K. *J.* to attend upon his Majeſty to the *Boyne*, to aſſiſt him againſt his Enemies. But *Achiſh* excuſed *David* with Commendations of his Fidelity. (1 *Sam.* 29.) His Lordſhip was likewiſe one of the Lords *Spiritual* mentioned in the Addreſs of the Parliament of *Ireland* to K. *J.* on the 10*th* of *May*, 89. which was Printed with K. *James*'s Speech, and is here annexed, *No.* 1. " In this Addreſs they abhor the unnatural Uſurpation " of the Prince of *Orange*, and the Treaſon of thoſe who " joyned with him in *England* and *Ireland*; and profeſs to " K. *J.* with Tongue and Heart, That they will ever aſ- " ſert his Rights to his Crown with their Lives and For- " tunes, againſt the ſaid *Uſurper* and his Adherents, and all " other Rebels and Traytors whatſoever.

Theſe are the Words of the Addreſs, as you may ſee in the Appendix. Now whether the *Proteſtant* Biſhops (*for no other ſat in that Parliament*) did enter their Proteſtation againſt this Addreſs which was made in their Names, or whether they did not give their Votes to it, themſelves

know beſt: If they ſay that they durſt not ſhew their diſſent to it, for fear of the *Iriſh*, who would have called it Treaſon in them; I will not argue now how juſt an Argument *Fear* is to juſtifie publick *Lying*, *Perjury*, and *Treachery*: But if Fear had ſo great an impreſſion upon themſelves, how could they, at the ſame time, have ſo little conſideration for K. *James*'s Circumſtances, as to lay ſuch a load upon him for paſſing the Acts of Attainder, and repeal of the Acts of Settlement, when they ſaw him ſtruggle with all his might againſt it, and that the *Iriſh* had ſo little compaſſion for him, (not to name *Loyalty*,) that they threatned to lay down their Arms and leave him to his Enemies, if he did not then immediately paſs theſe Acts; and yet they knew that it was highly prejudicial to his Service, and conſequently, if they had thought aright, to their own *Intereſt*. But they were violent, found the King was in their Power, and made their Advantage of it, to the beſt of their Underſtandings.

It is a Melancholy Story (if true) which *Sir Theobald Butler*, Solicitor General to K. *J.* in *Ireland*, tells of the D. of *Tyrconnel*'s ſending him to K. *J.* with a Letter about paſſing ſome Lands for the ſaid Duke; he imploying *Sir Theob.* in his Buſineſs, gave him the Letter open to read, which Sir *Theob.* ſays he found worded in terms ſo inſolent and impoſing, as would be unbecoming for one Gentleman to offer to another. Sir *Theob.* ſays he could not but repreſent to the Duke the ſtrange ſurpriſe he was in at his treating the King at ſuch a rate, and deſired to be excuſed from being the Meſſenger to give ſuch a Letter into the King's Hands. The Duke ſmiled upon him, and told him he knew how to deal with the King at that time, that he muſt have his Buſineſs done; and for *Theobald*'s ſcruple, he ſealed the Letter, and told him, now the King cannot ſuppoſe you know the Contents, only carry it to him as from me. Sir *Theob.* did ſo, and, ſays he obſerved the King narrowly as he read it, and that His Majeſty did ſhew great Commotion, that he changed Colours, and Sighed often, yet ordered *Tyrconnel*'s Requeſt, or *Demand* rather, to be granted. Thus ſays Sir *Theobald*. Many particulars of the like inſolence of theſe *Iriſh* to K. *James* might be ſhewn, but I would

would not detain the Reader; what I have ſaid is abundantly ſufficient to ſhew how far it was from his own Inclinations, either to *ſuffer* or *do* ſuch things as were thus violently put upon him by the *Iriſh* in his Extremity.

Yet nothing of all this, it ſeems, has weighed any thing with theſe *Iriſh Proteſtants*, at leaſt with *this Author*, to have any milder Thoughts of K. *J.* or to confeſs to the World, what they very well know, *viz.* That King *James* oppoſed the Paſſing of the Act of Attainder, and Repeal of the Acts of Settlement, all that he could, and made uſe of the *Proteſtants* (who now accuſe him) to help him in it: And this Truth is ſo apparent, that it forces it ſelf ſometimes out of their Mouths who endeavour to conceal it. This Author, *c* 3. *ſ.* 9. *n.* 12 *p.* 150. ſays, That *K. J. made uſe of them* (the Proteſtant Biſhops) *to moderate by way of Counterpoiſe the madneſs of his own Party*; and yet, at another time, all the madneſs of that Party muſt be charged upon the King: And K. *J.* (as this Author in the Heads of his Diſcourſe, *c* 3. *ſ.* 12. *n.* 20. *diviſion* 2. undertakes to prove) *would not hear the* Proteſtants *at the Bar againſt the Repeal*. In his Book where he comes to prove this, he only ſays that the Proteſtants *were denied to be heard at the Bar of the Lords Houſe, and an Order made that nothing ſhould be offered in their Favour*. Firſt, This is only his ſaying, he produces no ſuch Order, nor any Vouchers. Secondly, If the Lords made ſuch an Order, What is that to the King? They did many Things againſt His Will, as I have ſhewn the *Repeal* it ſelf to be; and this Author knows it, yet he charges all upon K. *J.* himſelf. Well! God forgive this Author, he has written every Word with the Spirit of Malice againſt his much injur'd Sovereign, to whom he had *ſworn*, who fell by other Mens Faults rather than His own; and being down, all preſs upon Him, and try who can wound Him deepeſt; even thoſe who Flattered Him, Addreſſed to Him, and were obliged by Him when in Power.

This Author was guilty of Treaſon againſt K. J. when under His Protection and Favour.

Nay, I have been told, That the Author owes it to King *James*'s Mercy, that he now lives to thank him for his Goodneſs. Was not he accuſed for holding Correſpondence, and giving Intelligence to the *Rebels* (as they were then called) both in *England* and the North of *Ireland*? And

And was it not true? Did he not give frequent Intelligence to *Schomberg* by one *Sherman*, and keep conſtant Correſpondence with Mr. *Tollet* and others in *London*? He knows this would have been called *Treaſon* in thoſe days, and a bloody-minded *Tyrant* would have found another Remedy for it than a ſhort Impriſonment.

And you may ſee, by the vaſt number of Papers which he kept, and Entries of all that paſt to K. *J*'s Diſadvantage, that he all along intended him the Kindneſs he has now pay'd. I ſuppoſe he will not deny it. He makes no Secret of it, but plainly juſtifies it, *c.* 3. *ſ.* 20. *n.* 6. *p.* 224. *Nor can any reaſonable man* (ſays he) *blame thoſe amongſt us who deſired or aſſiſted in this Deliverance, and to their utmoſt power laboured to procure it.*

One would reaſonably ask upon this, How it came to paſs that ſo very few *Proteſtants* loſt their Lives in *Ireland* under K. *J.* being ſo univerſally involved in Treaſon againſt him. Our Author in anſwer to this, *c.* 3. *ſ.* 3. *p.* 179. (but it is falſly pag'd, it ought to be *p.* 187.) among other Reaſons, gives this for one, *That they* (the Proteſtants) *were ſo true to one another.* Which this Author repeated, and further explain'd, ſoon after the Revolution there, in a Letter to an *Iriſh Proteſtant* Biſhop then in *London*; wherein he ſaid, That tho it was in almoſt every Proteſtants Power to hang the reſt, yet, *they were ſo true to one another* they did not diſcover it. This ſhews how generally they were guilty of *Treaſon* againſt K. J.

Add to this what I have been told by Proteſtants then in *Dublin*, That K. *J.* had once ſo good an Opinion of this Author, that he had him frequently in private, and truſted him in his Affairs, till at laſt he found him out; and his old Friend the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Herbert* was ſo far miſtaken in him, that he vouched for him at the Council-Table with ſo much zeal, as to ſay, That he was as Loyal a Man as any ſat at that Board; which did retrieve this Author from ſome Inconveniencies that then lay upon him, and continued him ſome time longer in the King's good Opinion.

There is another Paſſage very ſurprizing. I know a Perſon to whom this Author wrote about *Sept.* 88. when the News was hot of the Prince of *Orange*'s intended Deſcent into *England*; and before the Depoſitions concerning the

the P. of *Wales* were publiſhed; and this Author did in his Letter mightily bemoan that there was no care taken to make ſome proof of his Birth, to ſtop the Stories were every where ſpread about it, without any Anſwer to them, which made ſome give the more Credit to them. If, ſaid this Author, any thing of this ſort were done to ſatisfie rational Men of the Birth of the Prince, I am confident the Church of *England* would once more (as in the Bill of Excluſion) venture to oppoſe the Current of the Nation, and ſtand by the Truth. Accordingly, when all this was done by the Depoſitions which were publiſhed in *October*, 88. we heard of no more Objections from this Author, as to the P. of W. and ſuppoſe he was ſatisfied; of which no Man could doubt, with any tollerable Charity for a Man of this Author's Character, conſidering that till the Battel of the *Boyne* he did acknowlege this ſame P. of W. as P. of W. in his ſolemn Addreſſes to God, in the face of the People: Nay, even after the *Boyne*, a Gentleman told me that this Author did mightily complain to him, That the Parliament in *England* had neither proved the Impoſture of the Prince of *Wales*, nor the *French League*, with which the Nations had been ſo allarmed; and that it was impoſing upon the Nation, to think to make them ſwallow theſe things without Proof. And yet, all this notwithſtanding, in his Thankſgiving Sermon, 16 *Novemb.* 90. for the Victory of the *Boyne*, &c. he ſpeaks of that *League* with as much Aſſurance as if he had tranſacted it himſelf, and makes it the chief head of his Declamations againſt K. *J.* and the great Reaſon for our Abdicating of him; a Taſte of which I have given you before: And of the P. of W. he ſays in the ſame Sermon, *p.* 16. *That it was not ſo much as a well contrived Cheat.* And, *p.* 5. *We all are ſatisfied*, ſays he, *that this* (Popiſh Contrivance) *was the only Womb that conceived a* P. *of* W. *for us, and gave him a Birth.* He tells us not what new Light he had got in theſe Particulars; but you ought to ſuppoſe that he was very well aſſured of them, before he brought them into the Pulpit; and yet being ſo well aſſured) as this Author himſelf perhaps, if not, others of his Brethren will tell you now) That he, with the reſt of the *Dublin* Clergy, pray'd daily for this *ill contrived*

 Cheat,

The gross Hypocrisie of the Irish Clergy, in Praying for K James and the Prince of Wales.

Cheat, as P. of W. and for his Father too, That God would give him Victory over all his Enemies, when that was the thing they least wisht, and confest that they laboured all they could against it: Good God! what Apprehension, what Thought had these Men of their publick Prayers; *banting* God Almighty, and *mocking* him to his Face, who heard their Words, and saw their Hearts! Is not *Atheism* a smaller Sin than this, since it is better to have no God, than to set up one, *to laugh at him*! I am not able to spare them in this.

Before the Association in the *North* of *Ireland*, *Septemb.* 28. they prayed for K. *J.* The beginning of *March* following, they proclaimed the P. of O. King, and prayed for him. The 14th day King *James*'s Army broke their Forces at *Drommore*, in the *North* of *Ireland*, and reduced all but *Derry* and *Enniskillen*.

Then they prayed again for K. *J.* That God would *strengthen him to vanquish and overcome all his Enemies.* *August* following, *Schomberg* went over with an English Army. Then, as far as his Quarters reacht, they returned to pray the same Prayer for K. *William*; the rest of the Protestants still praying for Victory to K. *J.* and for the P. of W. and yet now they tell us, That all that while, they all meant the same thing; four times in one Year Praying forward and backward, point blanck contradictory to one another: And one would believe that they never thought of it, or considered whether it was a Fault or not: For, as if there had been no such thing, they tell K. *W.* in their Address to him, *No.* 26. Appendix. *We do not doubt*, say they, *but God will beat the Prayers of His Church, and Crown your Majesties Arms with Success*, &c. And so they go on most Loyally to make him a Present of their *Prayers*; and assure his Majesty, That, *with the most hearty Importunity*, they would pray for him. This, I suppose, was put in, that he might not think they would pray for him, as they did for K. *J.* that is, *Hypocritically*, and against their own Heart, to that Degree, that the Bishop of *Meath*, in his Speech, at the head, and in the name of the *Dublin* Clergy, (*No.* 8. *Append.*) takes pains to clear himself and them to K. *W.* from having been so much as *Trimmers* towards K. *J.* while he

was

was there among them; that is, they were his *inveterate Enemies*, [This was about a Week after this Biſhop offered his Service to K. *J.* to attend upon him to the *Boyne*.] and their Praying for him all that time was only matter of Form, to pleaſe him: *It was at once both innocent and neceſſary*, [to keep to the Biſhop's Words] *and fit to be obſerved to a Power that was able to Cruſh us far worſe than it did.* Who would ſtick out for a little *praying*? God knew their Heart, that they did not mean a Word of what they ſaid, even while they received the *Sacrament*, where they pray'd for K. *J.* at the very Altar, as they do now for K. *W.* and in the Collect after the Ten Commandments, they did acknowlege before God, *That K. J. was His Miniſter, and had His Authority*; and prayed for His Grace *faithfully to ſerve, honour, and humbly obey King* James, *in God and for God, according to his Bleſſed Word and Ordinance*; and yet at that time they thought him not *God's Miniſter*; nor to have *His Authority*; were not reſolved, nor thought it their Duty *to ſerve or obey him*, nay, not ſo much as to *Trimm* on his ſide. They thought him not their lawful King, but that K. *W.* was their King, and had *God's Authority*; and that they were obliged to obey K. *W. in God, and for God, according to God's Bleſſed Word and Ordinance*, whom yet in their Addreſs to K. *J.* they call an *unnatural Uſurper*. Was there ever ſuch broad hardened Affronting God to his Face? What did theſe *Divines*, or others, think, when they received the Sacrament with ſuch a Lye in their Mouths? It makes ones Hair ſtand on end!

O God, look not upon this, forgive the Iniquity of our holy things!

Will this Method perſuade Men to have Regard to your Prayers, or your Principles?

But nothing of all this touches upon our Author; he is ſtill very confident, *p.* 238. *That they were not guilty of any ſervile or mean Compliances*, or, as the Biſhop of *Meath* words it, of no Compliances, but ſuch as were *at once both innocent and neceſſary*.

What will our Adverſaries ſay to this Excuſe? Was it both *innocent* and *neceſſary* in them to abhor and deteſt K. *W.* (whom they thought their only true and lawful King)

as

as an *unnatural Uſurper*, and all thoſe as *Rebels* and *Traytors*, who took his part; and to plight their Faith, and promiſe their Allegiance, as they do in the aboveſaid Addreſs of Parliament, with one Voice, Tongue and Heart, to K. *J.* whom they thought to be no longer their King, but to have *Abdicated*? And yet they did thus endeavour to perſuade him into an intire Confidence and Dependance upon their Loyalty to him; making him a Tender of *their Lives and Fortunes, againſt the ſaid Uſurper the* P. *of* O. *and his Adherents, and all other Rebels and Traytors whatſoever.*

If theſe were not *ſervile or mean Compliances*, I deſire the Author to tell us what can be ſo? Moſt ſolemn and Parliamentary Lying upon Record, in the Face of the World, and to all Poſterities! *Perjury*, *Diſſimulation* and *Treachery* to the laſt Degree; perſuading that Prince to truſt them, whom they at the ſame time were reſolved to deſtroy! And that no humane Eye ſhould diſcover them, they carried on their Hypocriſie, even to pray ſolemnly to God every day in their Churches, for Victory to K. *J.* when now they all tell us, that in their hearts they wiſht it to K. W. If to deceive Men, was neither *ſervile* nor *mean*, was it both *innocent* and *neceſſary* thus to mock God?

Was there not (may *Papiſts* ſay) juſt Grounds for what this Author tells of K. *J.* *c.* 3. *ſ.* 20. *n.* 4. *p.* 222. That he " gave Advice to the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Brothers, to be- " ware of the Company of Proteſtants; but above all, ſays " this Author, he forbad them converſing with the *Biſhops* " and *Clergymen*; *for*, ſaid he, *they are all falſe to me, and* " *will pervert you to Diſloyalty and Treaſon.* This the Author calls loading the Proteſtants with the moſt odious Calumnies and Miſrepreſentations. But ſuppoſe K. *J.* or any of his Friends, ſhould ask this Author, whether one Word of it was falſe? Will he ſay that they were true to K. *J.* or did pray ſincerely for him what they daily repeated in their Common Prayers? And conſequently that they gave no manner of Ground, but were perfectly innocent of the Charge with which this Author ſays the Papiſts loaded them, viz *That they had no Religion at all; that they only pretended to it, but were Atheiſts and Traytors in their Hearts?*

It

It is true indeed they treated K. *J.* with all imaginable Demonſtrations of *Loyalty* and *Affection* (but how ſincere themſelves will tell you now) wherever he came the *Biſhops* and *Clergy* were the firſt to make their Court. He Landed on Tueſday the 12th of *March* 1689, at *Kinſale*, next Morning the Vicar, Mr. *Thoms*, went to the Fort to kiſs His Majeſty's Hand, being introduc'd by the Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*, as he tells in his Journal; and, ſays he, on Thurſday the 14th of *March*, we came to *Cork*, and lodg'd at the Biſhop's Palace, and I brought the Biſhop and the Clergy to the King, who receiv'd them very kindly. Friday the 15th I went with the Biſhop of *Cork* to the King's *Levee*, and tarried at Court till I ſaw the Rebels of *Bandon* at His Feet, and the *Miniſter* in an Elegant Speech begging their Pardon, which he granted them. And the Biſhop of *Cork* conſtantly attended at the King's *Levee*, while His Majeſty ſtay'd there. Friday the 22d of *March*, K. *J.* came to *Kilkenny*, where the *Biſhop* and *Clergy* were introduc'd by the Biſhop of *Cheſter* to kiſs His Majeſty's Hand, who received them very graciouſly. Sunday the 24th the King came to *Dublin*. Monday the 25th (1689) Primate *Boyle*, Arch-biſhop of *Ardmagh*, adviſed the Biſhop of *Cheſter* to accept of the Biſhoprick of *Clogher* then void: which was owning K. *J.* to have had at that time full right to confer it, and conſequently to be Rightful King. But that was fully and abſolutely owned, in ample form, on Wedneſday the 27th of *March*, 1689, by the Biſhop of *Meath*, and *Proctor* of the Univerſity, in the Name, and at the Head of the Body of the *Clergy*, and *Univerſity*. The Biſhop printed his Speech, and is inſerted, *No.* 8 *Append.* But the *Proctor*, thô commanded by the King to print his Speech, modeſtly declined it, he was more cautious, and conſidered, that it was framed only for that Juncture, and is very well ſatisfied that we have it not now to print with the Biſhop's. Tueſday the 2d of *April*, 1689, K. *J.* told the Biſhop of *Cheſter* that complaint was made to him, that the *Clergy* of *Dublin* did not readily pray for the Prince of *VVales*.

Upon which Notice the *Dublin-Clergy* met, and conſulted, and thô they did not believe the reality of the Prince of *VVales*, yet they reſolved the King ſhould not have that

Pretence againſt them, they would truſt themſelves in the Hand of God rather than Man, preſume *Deliberately* to act the Hypocrite with God, and pray againſt their Conſciences, rather than diſpleaſe the King. But enough of this before.

There is another thing: Not one of theſe *complying Iriſh Proteſtants* but will freely acknowlege, That if K. *VV.* or any other King ſhould turn *Papiſt*, and do all that K. *J.* has done, they would and ought to ſerve him as they did K. *J.* They cannot otherwiſe juſtifie their Carriage towards K. *J.* The conſideration of this made the Parliament in *England* aboliſh that Declaration, *viz. That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King*, &c.

But this, by ſome neglect, is left ſtill upon the *Iriſh Proteſtant Clergy*, under the Penalty of forfeiting their Livings. And as many as have come into any Livings ſince this Revolution, have read the ſaid Declaration publickly in time of *Divine Service*; and are to continue ſo to do, and declare that they will do it, till ſome Parliament take it away. This will be called as groſs a mocking of God, as their former praying for K. *J.* that is, whether they *believe*, or do *not belive* that Declaration. If they *believe* it, they condemn themſelves in taking Arms againſt K. *J.* If they do *not belive* it, they make it viſible to all the World, That there is no Tye or Obligation, *Civil* or *Sacred*, can touch their Conſciences, when they ſo *Solemnly*, while they are Officiating in the Divine Service, and offering up to God the Prayers of their Flocks, dare, at that very time, and with the ſame Breath, declare before *God*, and the *People*, that they do believe it, when they do not belive it, and the People know that they do not believe it: For they make no Secret of it, will tell every one that asks them; nay they ſtay not to be asked, they *Preach* againſt it, and *Diſpute* againſt it, and *Inſtruct* their Congregations againſt it, and would call any one a *Jacobite* and a *Papiſt* who durſt own it, and hunt him to the next *Goal*. And, yet to ſave their Livings, they continue ſtill to ſubſcribe this *hated* Declaration before their Ordinaries, and take Certificates under their Hands and Seals, that they have done it (as they are obliged

obliged by the Act) and publickly and openly Read the ſame upon the Lord's Day, in their Pariſh Churches where they Officiate, in the preſence of the Congregation there Aſſembled, in the time of Divine Service, *&c.*

They *Read* it in the *Desk*, and *Preach* againſt it in the *Pulpit*, And when they come out of Church rail at the Parliament that Impoſed it, and ſay, That it was ſoon after the Reſtauration, *Anno* 1660. when People were Drunk with Loyalty, after being wearied with the direful Effects of Rebellion under all its ſpecious Pretences; and thought they could never run far enough from it, till they run to the quite contrary Extreme, and advanc'd *Prerogative* to the utmoſt.

And they Wonder, and Curſe the hard Fate, that this *Declaration* was not taken out of the way in *Ireland* as well as in *England*, and wiſh it were done. But in the mean time they will loſe nothing by it, they can ſwallow—and it will ſwallow them, if they do not Repent. God grant them Grace to do it: And that the Shame of this their Sin may *Convert*, and not *Harden* them.

But this Charge is general: Our Author is only involved in it with many others. Let us return to what is more Particular as to himſelf, which I think I am obliged to give you an Account of, (*only ſo far as relates to the preſent Buſineſs*,): becauſe it ought to weigh with you in the Credit you are to give of what he ſays, where he brings no other Reaſon than his own *Averring*.

Know then, that (according to certain Information I have had) that no Man was, or could be a higher Aſſertor of *Paſſive Obedience*, than this Author has been all his life, even at the begining of this *Revolution*; that he told a Perſon of Honor, from whoſe Mouth I have it, "That if the "P. of O. came over for the Crown, or ſhould accept of "it, he pray'd God might blaſt all his Deſigns. That there "was no way to preſerve the Honor of our Religion, but "by adhering unalterably to our *Loyalty*. That it would "be a glorious Sight to ſee a Cart full of Clergy-men go"ing to the Stake for *Paſſive Obedience*, as the Primitive "Chriſtians did. That it would prove the Support and "Glory of our Religion, but that a *Rebellion* would ruine

This Author was formerly a zealous Man for Paſſive Obedience, even in the beginning of this Revolution.

"and

" and disgrace it. He said if it were no more than that " *Declaration* which he had Subscribed, of *Its not being law-* " *ful upon any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the* " *King*, &c. he would dye a Hundred Deaths rather than " do it. At a Meeting of the *Clergy of Dublin*, in the be-gining of this Revolution in 88. to consider what Measures they were to take; he declared, *That their taking Arms in the* North *of* Ireland, *at that time, was* Rank Rebellion, *if there could be any* Rebellion; *particularly* Derry *shutting their Gates against the King's Forces sent thither*: And when one there present did affirm, That the Subjects might take Arms in Defence of their Laws, &c. This Author did violently oppose it, even in relation to *Derry*, and urged that the Bishop of *Derry* (*Hopkins*) who was then there, did protest against their shutting out the King's Forces, and refused to joyn with those who did it; for which, and other Reasons, this Author then gave, he was against any Bodies going to the *North*, or joyning with *them*, as being a joyning in *Rebellion*.

About the Year 86. or 87. After his going from *Wexford* Waters to several of the Bishops of *Munster*, he wrote a Letter to a Person of undoubted Credit, giving an Account of what happened in his Journey, and of the Substance of what he Discoursed with the Bishops of *Waterford*, *Corke*, and *Cloyne*; he wrote, " That, among other things, he " advised them (as the only way to prevent the Dangers " that were imminent) to a steaddiness in their *Loyalty* and " *Religion*, and that he asserted, that if the King and our " Temporal Governors should enact unjust Laws, that the " Subject has no Remedy but Patience, against whom we " allow no other Weapons but Prayers and Tears; and " that it was a most unlawful thing for any to call in a *Fo-* " *reign Force*, or erect a New Government to redress un- " just Laws: And adds, That it is a sad thing that it is not " observed that *Rebellions* in the *State*, and *Schisme* in the " *Church* arise from this one Principle; to wit, That Sub- " jects may *in some Cases resist*, or *seperate* from their Law- " ful Governors set over them by God: Whereas the Prin- " ciple of *Non Resistance* is a steady Principle of Loyalty, " and it will be found no easier Matter to shake either the

" *Church*

" *Church* or *State*, that is ſettled on it. *And he repeats it* " *again*, That it is intolerable for the Members of any " State to flee to *Foreign Succors*, out of Pretence, that " their own Governors have made Laws againſt Reaſon, " Conſcience and Juſtice; and fooliſh to allege in their " Defence, *That all Mankind is of one Blood, and bound* " *to help one another.* [Which now he has made his great Argument in this Book, *Chap.* 1. *Sect.* 5]

What is above-written, I have from the Perſon to whom he wrote it, and more to the ſame purpoſe; and if he deſire it, his Letters ſhall be produced.

The ſame Perſon told me that about the beginning of this Revolution he was in Company with the Author, and another Gentleman (I think it was Dr. *Dun*) who blamed the preaching of *Paſſive Obedience* ſo high, as the cauſe of what had befallen us; whom this Author ſmartly reproved, and vindicated the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience *to the higheſt.*

But that Zeal and Courage has left him with his Principles, or while he counterfeits his Principles, [there is a difference of aſſurance in defending ſome Cauſes] which makes him now ſhun all thoſe who knew his former Principles, and have not changed as well as himſelf: He refuſed to ſee, all the time he was in *London* laſt *Auguſt* and *September*, a Deprived Biſhop, with whom he was as intimate as any Man, and had contracted a great Friendſhip: and when he was minded of it to ſee his Old Friend, he would not, ſaid they ſhould fall into Heats. And beginning of this laſt *October* 1692, being in *Oxford*, on his Road to *Ireland*, Mr. *Hudſon* of *Univerſity-College* was with this Author in the Schools-Quadrangle, at the very time Mr. *Dodwell* his admired Acquaintance was going up to the Library, and Mr. *Hudſon* asking whether he ſhould call after him, our Author forbad him, ſaying, *He knew* Mr. Dodwell *would be angry with him.* If he thought that Mr. *Dodwell* was in an Error, he ought to have endeavoured to convince him. No, he knew that Mr. *Dodwell* ſtood upon the ſame Ground where he left him: and that it was he himſelf had Prevaricated, and forſaken his firſt Love, and therefore was aſhamed to meet with the Man who knew his Principles ſo well before, and who had ſtuck cloſe to them in the Day of Tryal. The ve-

ry ſight of ſuch a Man is an upbraiding of their Cowardiſe and Unconſtancy who have deſerted their Principles, and raiſes Guilt in their Faces which their Eyes would diſcover, though they were hardened againſt a Bluſh.

-----Heu quantum mutatus ab illo!

From the well reputed and deſerving Dr. *K.* who honoured and admired, and loved Mr. *Dodwell*, above moſt Men, would have gone far to ſee him, and was proud of correſponding with him! and now ſhuns his ſight, as Guilty Sinners would the Face of Heaven! O, if this Author had retained his Integrity, how much greater would he have appeared in the Friendſhip, Eſteem, and Fellow-Suffering of this Great Man, then in his Guilty Purple? But Deſerters muſt ſhew their Zeal, and diſcover their own Shame.

Behold now how he ſtarts, and quotes it as a full Proof of King *James*'s Arbitrary Deſigns, That it was Enacted in their Act of Recognition in *Ireland*, *That the Deciſion, in all Caſes of a miſuſed Authority by a Lawful Hereditary King, muſt be left to the ſole judgment of God.* Indeed, I was amazed to ſee him quote this as ſo ſtrange a thing, which is over and over to be found in the Acts both of *England* and *Scotland* and *Ireland*; as if he had not only *forſaken*, but quite *forgot* what he had formerly taught. He has got new Principles and a new Language, p. 182. (it ought to be 190. for it is falſe Printed,) he ſays K. *J.* was *ungrateful* to the *Iriſh Proteſtant Clergy*: This is very *familiar*; but what was the King's *Ingratitude?* Becauſe, if they had been diſloyal in *Monmouth* or *Argile*'s Rebellion, they might have made an Inſurrection, *&c.*

So that this Author thinks the King is in their Debt for not *Rebelling*. And I ſuppoſe this is all the way that they brought him to the Throne, as this Author ſays in the ſame place.

It ſeems theſe *Iriſh Clergy* have been mighty Men, and we have not known it. But he ſays that by their Zeal for King *James*, they loſt the Affections of their People. This is a Scandal, I verily believe, upon the *Iriſh Proteſtants*: They were, I hope, better Men; I have known ſome of them,

them, and this Author ought to know them better. I have not heard that any of the Iriſh Proteſtants took Offence at that Paſſage which this Author Printed in the Preface to a Sermon of the Lord Biſhop of *Kilmore*'s, preached in the Author's Church of St. *Warborrough*'s in *Dublin*, in *March*, 1684. the firſt year of King *James*'s Reign: It was entituled St. *Paul*'s *Confeſſion of Faith*: There, in a Letter of this Author's to the Lord Biſhop, which is Printed in the Preface, he avers poſitively in theſe words, *viz. It is impoſſible for any one of our Communion to be diſloyal without renouncing his Religion.*

This paſt better with the *Iriſh Proteſtants*, than that *Super-Loyal* Strain of our famous Dr. *Tillotſon* (which he Preached before the King at *Whitehall*, *Apr.* 2. 1680. upon *Joſh.* 24. 15. did pleaſe the *Church of* England-*men* here, other than thoſe who took the Court for the Standard of their Religion. The Paſſage is, Pag. 11. & Sect. 2. of the Sermon; where the Doctor, in profound Adoration of the Royal Authority, and the Legal Eſtabliſhment of a Nation, makes it unlawful to preach againſt the eſtabliſhed Religion of a Nation, (though it be falſe) unleſs we could juſtifie our Commiſſion by *Miracles*, as the Apoſtles did. "All, ſays "he, that Perſons of a different Religion can in ſuch a "Caſe reaſonably pretend to, is to enjoy the private Li-"berty and Exerciſe of their own Conſcience and Religion; "for which they ought to be very thankful, [*becauſe, by the way it is impoſſible for any Government to hinder any Man from the private Exerciſe of his own Conſcience and Religion,*] "and to forbear the open making of Proſelytes to their "own Religion, (though they be never ſo ſure that they "are in the right,) till they have *an extraordinary Commiſ-"ſion from God to that purpoſe.* Dr. Till. *Extent of Loyalty in his Serm.* 2 Apr. 80 *before K.C.* 2.

Now, becauſe ſome do think That that extraordinary Commiſſion, *Matt.* 28. 19, 20 *Go teach all Nations*----belongs to the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles *to the end of the World*, to which time Chriſt there promiſes to aſſiſt this Commiſſion of his, and to be with thoſe who preach it, therefore the Dr. barrs that Pretence in what is ſaid above; for he not only requires That ſuch Men ſhould be *extraordinarily Commiſſioned, as the Apoſtles and firſt Publiſhers of the*

the Gospel were, but that they be able to *justifie that Commission by* Miracles, *as they did.* This indeed does effectually secure any People from being disturbed with the hearing of the *Christian*, or ony other Religion, but that wherein they were bred, till a new Age of *Miracles* shall arise.

If our Author had gon to this length of Passive Obedience, I should not wonder that some *Irish Protestants* had been offended; for it did not relish with us here, notwithstanding the good Dr. was at the pains to print it twice for our Information. And that he had two Years before Instructed the Honourable *House of Commons*, in the same flight of Loyal Principles, in his Sermon preached before them, 5 *Nov.* 1687. upon *Luke* 9. 55, 56. Where, in the second Head of his Discourse, *p.* 17. he speaks "Of an evil Spirit in the "World, which not only contrary to Christianity, but the "common Principles of Natural Religion, which by Falsehood and Perfidiousness, by Secret Plots and Conspiracies, or by open Sedition and Rebellion--- by Deposing "and Killing of Kings--- by the ruine of their Countrey, "and betraying it into the hands of *Foreigners*--- by all "the wicked Ways imaginable, doth invite Men to promote "and advance their Religion. But when Religion, *says he*, "*p.* 19. once comes to supplant Moral Righteousness--- "to lye for the Truth, and to kill Men for God's sake; "when it seems to no other purpose, but to be a Bond of "Conspiracy, to inflame the Tempers of Men to a greater "fierceness, and to set a keener edge upon their Spirits--- "then surely it loses its Nature, and ceases to be Religion.

And 5 Nov. 78. *before the* H. *of* Com.

"For let any Man say worse of Atheism and Infidelity "if he can. And for God's sake, *What is Religion good for*, "but to reform the Manners and Dispositions of Men, to "restrain humane Nature from Falshood and Treachery, "from Sedition and Rebellion!

It is true indeed that the Christian Religion is the most conducive to promote *Temporal* Peace, and good *Government* of any thing in the World: But we have been taught (and I hope it is true) that it has much more Spiritual and greater Ends than these; *viz.* Eternal Happiness in the

the clear Vision of God, and Enjoyment of him for ever; And therefore that it is good for something else than *Temporal* Quiet among Men, which it does not always procure; nor is it always a *Blessing*, unless when accompanied with *Truth*; Peace and Security in our *Sins* is the greatest *Curse*. And therefore a Religion which happens to disturb the outward Peace of this World, may not be *worse than Infidelity or no Religion*, as the Dr. supposes; for, *Let any Man say worse of Atheism and Infidelity if he can*, says the Dr. with great Courage! But, good Sir, if you would give me leave, Does not *Atheism* and *Infidelity* lead to *Hell* and *Damnation?* And that is a little worse, I humbly conceive, than any Imbroylments in this World, that were ever caused for Religion, even that of *Joshua* among the *Canaanites*; which, by all the Arguments in this Sermon, was an attempt contrary to the Nature of true Religion, and must have byast all who look no farther than *Temporal Quiet* against *Joshua's* Religion, and to embrace rather that of the *Canaanites*, who acted only on the *Defensive* But I will not be so unjust to this learned Dr. as to conceal the Strength of his Argument. That *Hell* is worse than *Temporal Disturbance*, does indeed carry the Vogue among unthinking People; and consequently they do suppose, contrary to the Dr. that Atheism and Infidelity are worse than the Disturbance of our Quiet here. But he has taken pains to instruct them in his Sermon Preached before the Queen, 7 *March* 90. upon *Matt* 25. 46. and Printed *By their Majesties special Command*; That all God's Threatnings of *Hell* may be only *in Terrorem*, to *Frighten* Men; but that there is no *Necessity* nor *Certainty* that Hell will be *Eternal*, as is threatned, or that there will be any Hell at all: But a less threat than that of Eternal Punishment, he says, is not sufficient to deter Men from Sin: And therefore that God did wisely to threaten it: But the Dr. (to prevent God from Deceiving of Mankind) has told this great Secret. Has God said ye shall surely dye? But the Dr. says, Ye *shall not* surely *dye*. Taste of my *Knowledge*, and it will open your Eyes. For, as he goes on in that Sermon on the 5*th*. of *Novemb*. aboveſaid.

Both these Serm. are Pr. anew in the Year 91. in the 3d. Vol. of Dr. Till. Sermons.

" Better it were there were no *Revealed* Religion, and " that humane Nature were left to the Conduct of its own " Principles and Inclinations---- than to be acted by a Religi- " on that---- is continually supplanting Government, and " undermining the Welfare of Mankind: Such a Religion " as teaches Men to propagate and advance it self by *Means*, " so evidently contrary to the very *Nature* and *End* of all " Religion. And, *p.* 21. The Doctrine of the Lawfulness " of Deposing of Kings, and Subverting Government---- is as " bad, or worse than Infidelity, and no Religion. How " much better Teachers of Religion were the Old *Heathen* " *Philosophers*? In all whose Books and Writings, there is " not one Principle to be found of Treachery or Rebellion.

" But blessed be God, says Dr. *Burnet*, in his Sermon up- " on *Rom.* 13. *v.* 5. *p.* 36. Our Church hates and condemns " this Doctrine from what Hand soever it come, and hath " established the Rights and Authority of Princes on sure " and unalterable Foundations; injoyning an entire Obe- " dience to all the lawful Commands of Authority, and an " absolute Submission to that supream Power which God " hath put in our Sovereign's hands. This Doctrine we " justly glory in; and if any that had their Educations in " our Church, have turned *Renegadoes* from this, they prove " no less Enemies to the *Church* her self, than to the *Civil* " *Authority*: So that this *Apostacy* leaves no Blame on our " Church.

If you think the Titles of *Renegado* and *Apostate*, to be too plain Dealing, I cannot help it; they are the Doctors own Words; and, no dout, proceeded from a godly Zeal and Indignation, against such base Deserters of these Principles of *Loialty*, which are taught by the Church of *England*, in her *Homilies*, *Canons*, *Articles*, and Authentick Records.

As did likewise that pious Ejaculation of our Author, *c.* 2. ∫ 7. *n.* 2. *p.* 29. *That he is a very dishonest man that dissembles, or alters his Opinion, without any other visible motive besides Gain or Preferment---- And that their living so long in the profession of the Protestant Religion* (he is speaking of Converts to *Popery* and you may apply it to the Converts from *Passive Obedience* to the Doctrine of *Resistance* and *Common-*

wealth

wealth Principles,) if they did not believe it, was to all honeſt men an Argument of ſo great Hypocriſie, that the perſon guilty of it, one would think, ſhould not have been truſted by any that valued either Truth or Honeſty; but if this Declaration (viz. of their new Opinion) *was only feigned, as I am apt to believe it was in many, then their Converſion was an Effect of Covetouſneſs or Ambition, and an Act of Hypocriſie, to be abhorred by all good men. However, to perſuade the World that they were real, they were very miſchievous to Proteſtants in general, (to thoſe whoſe Principles they had forſaken,) eſpecially to thoſe that had been kind to them whil'ſt in an inferiour condition. And it was obſervable of theſe Converts, That they, immediately on their Reconcilement, made themſelves ſignal by ſome eminently wicked Act.* Thus our Author: And he ſays, *p.* 31. *The truth is, they were people that made no diſtinction between Right and Wrong, but as they ſerved their Intereſt.*

It would perhaps be thought malicious, if I ſhould retort every word of this upon our Author, in relation to his preſent Converſion from his former Principles of *Loyalty* and *Paſſive Obedience* And if his preſent Principles be not true, he has hanſel'd his Converſion by an Act much more eminently wicked beyond all Compariſon, by the writing of this Book, than what he obſerves of Converts to *Popery* in *Ireland*. What Proportion is 'there twixt toſſing a Butcher in a Blanket, which he tells, *p.* 29. or two or three ſmall Murders in the heat of Blood, and breaking a Cryer's head, which is ſet out, *p.* 30 as the firſt Fruits of theſe Papiſts Converſion; what Proportion do theſe bear to a Biſhop's deliberate giving up of *half the Nation* at a time to the Slaughter, and *Hallowing* it in all paſt and to all future Generations? This I have enlarged upon already. Again, if his *Matters of Fact* be *falſe*, or but in the leaſt *aggravated* or *miſrepreſented*, how eminently wicked will this firſt remarkable Act of our Author's Converſion appear, when he takes God to Witneſs, and proteſts before him (*p.* 239) that he has neither *aggravated*, nor *miſrepreſented*?

But before I take leave of this Author, with the reſt of his Brethren, the *Dublin* Clergy who remained there, and *complemented*, as it proved, *K. J.* with full aſſurance of

their

their adhering unalterably to their *Church of* England *Loyalty (who durſt doubt it?)* even with Relation to K. *J.* after he was declared *Abdicate*, and a new King (even K. *W.* himſelf) ſet upon the *Throne*, and claiming the *Allegiance* of his Subjects in *Dublin*, and the reſt of *Ireland*; even then, did the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of *Meath*, at the Head, and in the Name, of their *Dublin* Clergy, with ſome others, as many as could get thither out of the Country, again affirm their *Allegiance* to K. *J.* in moſt expreſs Terms, and all the Rhetorick he could invent to perſwade K. *James*, into an entire Confidence of their adhering to him as their Rightful King, and that it was purſuant to the Principles of the Church of *England* ſo to do: Which Speech we had here printed two Years agoe, together with another of the ſame Biſhop to K. *W.* when he came to *Ireland*, in the Name of the ſame Clergy, and I have annexed them to this, with the Anſwers of *both Kings*. *No.* 8. *Appendix.*

Now before we part with theſe Gentlemen, I would earneſtly deſire them to anſwer me (with the ſame Sincerity with which they addreſſed *to one* or *both* of theſe Kings) Whether if King *James* had ſuceeded at the *Boyne*, and been then re-eſtabliſhed in *England*, they would have put that Comment upon their Speech to him which they did afterwards in their Speech to K. *W*? And whether if any Man ſhould have charged them for meaning it with that Reſerve, they would not have called it a baſe Calumny, and *ſworn* to the contrary, if K. *J.* had required it, at leaſt if an Act of Parliament had been made to have *Deprived them if they did not?*

I ask again, Whether they would have confeſt, as now they do, that they did not mean ſincerely in what they Prayed for K. *James*, *viz.* That *God would give him ſtrength to vanquiſh and overcome all his Enemies?*

Nay farther, Whether they would not have boaſted of their *Loyalty*, and *ſincere* Intentions towards King *James*, and reproached thoſe of Diſaffection to Him, who had forſaken Him, and of quitting the true Principles of *the Church of England?* and that they were ready to ſuffer not only much more than they did, but even *Death* it ſelf, without Threatning, or Reviling, much leſs Reſiſting *the Lord's Anointed*, according

according to the Command of Scripture, the Practice of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, and the Primitive Chriſtians, and the expreſs Doctrine of our *Homilies*, *&c.*

All theſe good Words we ſhould have had from them: no doubt, theſe only had been the Men of *Principles*, *Firmneſs*, *Courage*, nay even of *Chriſtianity*!

But they are detected God would not ſuffer ſuch masked Hypocriſie to deceive the World. It is told, *Luke* 2. 35. as one of the Effects of *Chriſt*'s coming into the World, *That the Thoughts of many hearts ſhould be revealed.*

This has been remarkably fulfilled in this Revolution; but eſpecially in the *Clergy*. There never was ſo ſudden and ſo ſhameful a Turn of Men profeſſing Religion; and the manner of doing it ſo impolitick, as to make it evident they took the Oaths with at leaſt a *doubting* and *ſcrupulous* Conſcience, (the Sentence of which they may read *Rom.* 14. 23.) for they did not take them *freely*, but haggled, and kept off, ſome to the laſt day, roaring againſt them all the while, and then coming about all at once, with new coyn'd *Diſtinctions* and *Declarations*, point blank contrary to the declared Senſe of the Impoſers. They differed among themſelves; every one had a particular *Salvo* for his own Conſcience. Some pretend they keep to *Paſſive Obedience* ſtill; others, that they were never for it. It is a ſevere Jeſt that the Common People have got up againſt the Clergy, That there was but one thing formerly which the Parliament could not do, that is, to make a Man a Woman: But now there is another, that is, to make an Oath *which the* Clergy *will not take.* *The Behaviour of the Clergy in taking the Oaths.*

In ſhort, they have ſhewn ſuch Unwillingneſs, ſuch poor pittiful mean Arts, to *ſhift*, to *compound*, to *accommodate* this Oath to their Intereſts, that K. *W.* has no reaſon to truſt them nor their Oaths. They will find a *Diſtinction* to leave him, if ever they can make their Account by it. But no doubt he underſtands them.

I will not enter upon the Caſe of the *Deprived Clergy*; only ſay this, That their Firmneſs to what the People think to have been the uncontroverted Doctrine of the Church of *England*, that is *Paſſive Obedience*, has kept many Men from rank Atheiſm, and believing all Religion to be really *Of the Deprived Clergy.*

no more than *Prieſtcraft*, and a mere Cheat; while they ſee *Divines* turn for a piece of Bread, and damn that to day, which they enjoyned yeſterday upon pain of Damnation. But on the other hand, when they find ſo many, and the greateſt of them, part with all they have in the World, Honours, Eſtates, and ready, as they have given good Reaſon to believe, to lay down their very *Lives* in adhering to thoſe Principles which they have preach't; this forces People to reflect that theſe Men are in earneſt with Religion, and that there may be ſuch a thing. For the greateſt Danger to which we are now expoſed, by this *Defect* of ſo many of our *Clergy*, is not only *Popery* or *Phanaticiſm*, whoſe Principles they have embrac'd, but a contempt of *all Religion*, which is now ſpread over the Land, in a manner unheard of in former Ages. The Lord avert this ſad *Omen*! and grant us Repentance to prevent his Judgments, for Chriſt Jeſus ſake.

This is a ſad Subject, to look upon the Nakedneſs and Reproach of ſo many who were once Members of that Renowned Church of *England*! Let us turn our Eyes to ſome leſs afflicting Proſpect.

Roman Catholick Loyalty.

Among theſe melancholy Diſcoveries we have made of the Failings of our *Friends*, let us not forget thoſe of our Oppoſites of the Church of *Rome*, leſt they glory in our Downfall.

I go not abroad, nor meddle with the *Confederacie* of Pope *Innocent* XI. the Emperor, King of *Spain*, and other *Roman Catholick Princes*, to ſet up a *Proteſtant* Prince againſt a *Roman Catholick* King, who has no other Crime laid to his Charge, by our Author's own Confeſſion, than what he calls the natural Effects of Popery: And for this, Thouſands of Armed Papiſts came to diſpoſſeſs him!

It is ſaid, That *Religion* was not the only Quarrel, *and we eaſily believe it*. It has the leaſt ſhare in our Quarrels, though it is always made the Pretence. It would have been made the *Pretence* and *Loialty* in abundance, as with the *Dublin Clergy*, ſo with the *Iriſh Papiſts*, if they had prevail'd; and it would have been hard to diſprove them. But now they too are detected.

Particularly of the Iriſh.

I

I speak not of all: I desire not to make any National Reflection; no doubt there are many honest and gallant Men of that, as of other Nations; and they have shewn it, do still, and I hope always will shew it. But I am looking upon the Carriage of many others of them in this Revolution, in which they gave foul instances that there was more of *Interest* in their Designs, than pure Principles of *Loialty*.

Witness their forcing K. *J.* to call a Parliament, when it was so very unseasonable, in the midst of his short time of Action, and threatning to lay down their Arms and desert him, if he would not pass the Bills of Attainder, and Repeal of the Acts of Settlement; Their hindering him so many times to go to *Scotland*, which was then visibly his Interest, and suffering none they could help, *English* or *Scots*, though *Roman Catholicks*, to be employ'd; even forcing some of his Ministers from him, whom they supposed no Friends to their Interest: Insomuch that the King complained to a *Scots* Gentleman, who was pressing him to mind his Affairs in *Scotland*, *What can I do? You see I am left alone, I have none to do any thing for me.* But above all, some of them moving to him for leave to cut off the Protestants, which he return'd with Indignation and Amazement, saying, *What, Gentlemen, are you for another Forty-One?* Which so gall'd them, that they ever after look'd upon him with a jealous Eye, and thought him, thô a *Roman Catholick*, too much an *English-man* to carry on their Business. And I am told by persons come from thence, That the generality of the *Irish Papists* do at this day lay all their Misfortunes upon K. *J.* because he would not follow their Measures, and was so inclinable to favour the *Protestants*.

Lastly, their *Surrender*, or *Selling* of *Limerick* (as some say, but I know nothing of it) but this is certain, that they were well able to have held out till the *French* Succors could have come: And some of these *Irish* have since been rewarded by K. *W.* and have found their Account in the Articles granted them, and made no scruple to take the Oath of Allegiance to K. *W.* and Q. *M.* which is agreed to in the Articles of *Limrick*, and now taken generally by the *Irish Papists* all over *Ireland*, by direction of *their Clergy*. But these *Irish* forgot that it was chiefly upon their Account,

count, by ſhewing favour to *them*, that K. *J.* brought upon himſelf all his Misfortunes. Putting *them* into Power, and diſplacing *Proteſtants* to make room for *them*, made more noiſe, and rais'd K. *J.* more Enemies, than all the other Male-adminiſtrations charg'd upon his Government put together.

But when ſome of them ſaw that he could no longer ſecure them their own Eſtates, or give them thoſe of the *Proteſtants*, they gave over His Cauſe, and found no difficulty to ſwear to another Prince, though a *Proteſtant*, and poſſeſſed of K. *J*'s Crown.

It was not much better they ſerv'd his *Father*; firſt brought him under Calumny for pretended Kindneſſes to *them* and *their Religion*; counterfeited Commiſſions under his Name, (which Sir *Phelim O Neal* confeſs'd at his Death) and endeavour'd to caſt the Odium of their Rebellion and Maſſacre upon Him: And after, when they made a ſhew to return to their Loyalty, they diſappointed him of the Succors they had agreed to ſend him againſt the Rebels in *England*, joyn'd with the Pope's *Nuncio* againſt him, and invited over a Foreign Prince, the Duke of *Lorrain*, to Rule over them.

I have heard ſome of the *Iriſh* attribute their ill Succeſs in the Rebellion of 41. to the barbarous *Maſſacres* by which they began it, and their unfaithful dealing with K. *Charles* I. And ſome of the ſobereſt among them now do make the Reflection, That their ill Uſage of K. *James* II. when he came among them, (ſacrificing his Intereſt to the carrying on of their own Deſigns) did juſtly deſerve that Judgment which fell upon them in the Iſſue of that War.

We have done with *their* Loyalty; at leaſt their Mouths are ſtopt againſt the Defection of ſo many of the Church of *England*.

Of the Roman Catholicks of England.

And I think the Roman Catholicks of *England* too are not to inſult: For though the Oaths be not come to them, and therefore we cannot ſay certainly whether they will *Swear* or not, yet there lies this againſt them, *viz.* in their publick Chapels here in *London*, they pray for K. *W.* and Q. *M.* which ſome of their Communion told me.

I hear that all the *Proteſtant Non-Jurors* ſay, There is the ſame Argument againſt *praying* as *ſwearing*: And of all their

their number, none did allow himself to *pray* but Dr. *Sherlock* alone, who, as he tells in the Preface to his *Recantation*, stood *single* among the *Non-swearing* Clergy upon this account; and you see he did not stay with them. But the same Principle that led him to *pray*, brought him to *swear* too, rather than stick out. Therefore let not these Roman Catholicks be high-minded, because others have fallen, but rather fear lest having gone already Dr. *Sherlock*'s length of *Praying*, they may come to *Swear* like him, if they should be pinch'd as he was: Nay, I have heard several of them argue for the Lawfulness of it, only they would keep from it as long as they could. I say not that this does conclude upon others who do not so; but it may make them more modest in rejoycing over our Fall.

Non-Jurors of the Church of England.

Upon the whole, I must say, That there are none have cleverly stuck to the Principles they profess'd, but the *Non-jurors* of the Church of *England*: For, as they profess'd them all along, in the same sense they have stuck to them now; and have given that demonstration of their being in earnest, that they are content to lose all, rather than deviate from them.

And this is one Discovery, among the rest, that this Revolution has made: It has discovered the inflexible Loyalty of these Men, whom neither personal Injuries, nor Attempts upon their *Religion*, *Liberty* or *Property*, can move from that Duty to the King which they think a Principle of their Religion; and this is a high Vindication of their Religion, and a Recommendation of it. But now we are upon the Discovery, let us not forget to do Justice to all. We cannot forget the Rise and Source of our Disease, whence all these Evils we now feel and foresee, have come upon us; and that is our wicked *Presbyterian* Rebellion against K. C. I. which banished his Children into Popish Countries; God thereby fulfilling a just Judgment upon these *Unchristian Rebels*, permitting his *Son* to suck in the Principles of Roman Catholick Religion, of which these Hypocrites, against their own Consciences, accus'd his Father, and on that pretence instigated his deluded Subjects to Rebell against him: Therefore it is plainly the *Presbyterians* we have to thank for K. *J*'s being a Roman Catholick, and all the ill Consequences which depend upon it.

Presbyterian Loyalty.

God often in his All-wise Providence suffers Rebellion to bring on those same Evils, for prevention of which we chose to Rebell; as the *Jews* crucified Christ, lest the *Romans* *Joh.* 11. 48. should come; and his Death brought the *Romans*, who did take away their Place and Nation.

This had been an Application more befitting a Divine, and to have warn'd us of those Sins which have provok'd God to send his Judgments amongst us, rather than to bite the Stone, not minding the Hand that threw it; to lay all upon K. *J.* if it had been true. But to tell down-right Untruths of him, or to *misrepresent* the Truth to appear other than really it is, which is likewise *Lying*, and perhaps the more wicked of the two, being harder to be discovered, and so more apt to impose upon unwary and unthinking People. This is direct *Diabolical*, the Office and the Denomination of the *Adversary* and *false Accuser*.

Popish Principles *which are embraced.*

It had been a more proper and serviceable Undertaking of this Author, to justifie himself and others of his complection from this Imputation, and several other things formerly rail'd at against Popery; as, the *Deposing Doctrine*, *Dispensing with Oaths*, *Jesuitical Equivocations*, *and Mental Reservations*, *Not keeping Faith with Hereticks*, &c. where we own we must have kept the same Promises made to another; and all this, or any other *Falsity* or *Immorality*, to be allow'd for the Good of the *Church*.

If to preserve the *Protestant* Religion, will excuse us to dispense with God's Commands, as much as we say the *Papists* have done to preserve *their Church*, we must expect that the *Protestant Religion* will grow as hateful to all good Men, as the *Church of Rome* is to the most Bigotted against it; or the *Jewish* Doctrine of *Corban*, which dispenses with the *fifth Commandment* upon the same Pretences, *viz.* for the Good of the *Church*, to enrich the Treasury of the Temple; or the Phanatick Confession of Faith, *That Dominion is founded in Grace*.

But all these have the Advantage of our *Church of England Clergy*. The *Jews* had the *Tradition of their Elders* to plead, and the *Church of Rome* have their *Great Council of Lateran* for the *Deposing Doctrine*, the *Council of Constance* for *Violating Faith to Hereticks*, &c. and they have their

Traditions

Traditions too for the *Benefit of the Church*; and the *Presbyterian* has his *Solemn League and Covenant*.

But the *Church of England Clergy* are destitute of all these Helps: There is nothing of these, but the direct contrary, in all her Articles, Homilies, Canons, Rubricks, or any Constitutions of her Church.

The Church of England Vindicated.

And the *Metropolitan of all England*, with a *Quorum* of *Bishops*, and several hundreds of the *Inferiour Clergy*, have adhered to the Doctrine of their Church, and suffered themselves to be *Deprived*, rather than act or teach contrary to it. Therefore this cannot be called a Defection of the *Church of England*, but only of *particular Persons*, who have done it in opposition to their *Superiors* in the *Church* as well as in the *State*; and let them answer for it; but let the Reputation of the Church be preserved: It has already received both a Testimony and a Vindication from the Mouth of K. *J.* himself, who (as some present have told) when an *Irish* Lord at *Dublin*, attending upon His Majesty at Supper, began to reproach the *Church of England* for her Apostacy from her former Principles of Loyalty, *&c.* The King reply'd, *They are the Church of* England, *who have kept to the Principles of the Church of* England. The Lord made Answer, *But, Sir, how few are they in comparison with the rest?* The King said, *They are more than Christ had to begin Christianity with.*

And all Rightful Kings of *England* have this Security from the Members of the Church of *England* more, than from either *Popish* or *Presbyterian* Dissenters, That when either of these two last-nam'd take Arms against the King for the Propagation of their Religion, they act pursuant both to the *Principles* and *Practice* of their *Churches*: but no true *Church-of-England man* can take Arms against the King, in Defence of his *Religion*, *Liberty*, *Property*, or *any pretence whatsoever*, without at the same time renouncing the Principles of his Church, or, in Dr. *Burnet*'s words, turning *Renegado* and *Apostate* from it, and from the constant Practices of its true Professors to this present Age. And though God has sifted Her, and discovered Her unsound Members, most of whom were *Phanaticks* grafted contrary to Nature, yet we may perceive by the *Remnant* He has left, that it

will

will end in rendring her more Pure and Glorious, after ſhe has paſt the Refiner's Fire.

Theſe Conſiderations have taken me a little out of the Road (if it be out of the Road) of the preſent Buſineſs: I will return to the Author.

We have ſeen his Sincerity in the Original Matter of Fact, and Mother of all the reſt, *viz.* Who were the Aggreſſors in the late miſerable Revolution of *Ireland*, for they were anſwerable for all that followed.

Matter of Fact ſet down by this Author at random.

But there are many other Particulars, beſides thoſe to which I have ſpoken, wherein the Author ſhews great variety of prevarication: And tho he pretends to ſo great exactneſs, which any one would believe by his Method, yet it is viſible that he ſet down things *at random*, meerly for want of pains to examin them,

C. 3. *S.* 12. *at the end*, *p.* 165. he pretends to compute what the Eſtates of all the *Jacobites* in *England* and *Scotland* are worth. But this may paſs more innocently than where it reflects upon any particular Perſons Reputation; in theſe Caſes, it is not only uncharitable, but unjuſt, to ſay any thing at a venture. If we know not the thing to be true, we are to err on the charitable ſide, and not mention what may reflect upon another: but if we do, we muſt be ſure to ſet down our Vouchers, ſo as to leave no umbrage to ſuſpect the Truth. This our Author, I am afraid, has not ſo punctually obſerved through all this Book, particularly in the Characters which he takes upon him to give of ſo many perſons. C. 3. *S.* 3. he accuſes the Judges, particularly the Lord Chief Juſtice *Nugent*, *ibid. n* 5. *p.* 61. of down-right Bribery, *That he went ſharer in Cauſes before him, and not only appeared for them on the Bench, but alſo ſecretly encouraged and fomented them.*

I have heard others ſay, who are no Admirers of that Judge, That they are confident this is a rank Slander and Calumny; and that no ſuch thing can be proved againſt him. However, an Accuſation of ſo heinous a Nature ought not to have been exhibited, eſpecially in Print, without ſome Proofs along with it.

This *Nugent*, ſays the Author, *was pitch'd on by K. J. to judge whether the Outlawries againſt his Father and his Fellow Rebels*

Rebels ſhould be reverſed. Now I am aſſur'd, That his Father, *viz.* the Earl of *Weſtmeath* was not Outlawed; which if ſo, this is ſuch another careleſs Miſtake as this Author makes, *ibid. n.* 3. *pag.* 60. where he calls *Felix O Neil* (a Maſter of Chancery in King *James's* time) *Son of Turlogh O Neil the great Rebel in* 41, *and Maſſacrer of the Proteſtants.* That *Turlogh O Neil* was Brother to the Famous Sir *Phelim O Neil*, and was not Father to this *Felix O Neil.*

I have been told by Men of *Ireland*, That this *Felix O Neil's* Father's Name was *Phelom*; and that he was ſo far from being a bloody Maſſacrer in 41. that he was civil to the Proteſtants in thoſe times, particularly to *Guilliam*, Father to *Meredith Guilliam*, now a Major in K. *W's* Army, whom he obliged by his civil Uſage of him, when he was Priſoner with the *Iriſh*; and the ſame *Guilliam's* Relations do ſtill acknowlege it.

But as to the Reverſing of theſe *Outlawries*, this Author has not done right to K. *J.* For upon the Repreſentation made to his Majeſty by the Earl of *Clarendon*, then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, of the ill Conſequences of the Reverſal of theſe Outlawries, particularly the Jealouſie it gave of encroaching upon the Acts of Settlement, (which you will ſee more at large in King *James's* Letter of the Third of *May*, 86. to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and his Lordſhips proceedings thereupon, which are hereunto annexed, *No.* 20) His Majeſty did not preſs that matter any farther; and ſo there was a ſtop put to theſe Reverſals, during the Government of my Lord *Clarendon* in *Ireland*, and for any thing I can hear, afterwards, till this Revolution. So that this ſeems rather an Impoſition upon the K. (as there were many) by my Lord *Tyrconnel* and thoſe of his Party, than a thing that ſprung immediately from the King's own Breaſt, or that he pitcht upon Judge *Nugent*, on purpoſe to carry it on violently, as this Author lets it out in his Gueſſes at *Random*, and would have it paſs for ſome mighty Matter.

To this Claſs will juſtly belong what I have before mentioned of this Author's bold and poſitive Politicks upon foreign Princes and States, and likewiſe of the P. of *W. Fr. League*, &c. which he had from the ſame Intelligence, and avers with the ſame Aſſurance.

By Innendoes, *wherein his groundless and unjust Reflection upon the E. of* Clarendon.

He has likewise an Art of making many things pass by *Innendo's*, whose Falshood would have appeared if they had been plainly related. For Example, c. 9. *f.* 12. *p.* 144. telling of the assurances sent over by King *James* to *Ireland* by the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord Lieutenant, and Sir *Charles Porter* Lord Chancellor, he says, "These Declarations gain-"ed belief from the credulous Protestants, especially that "made by Sir *Charles*, *who behaving himself with Courage and* "*Integrity in his Office*, *went a great way to persuade them*; which being the Ground of their being perswaded by him, more especially than by my Lord *Clarendon*, plainly insinuates as if my Lord *Clarendon* had not behaved himself with Courage and Integrity in his Office there.

This Author is the first *Irish Protestant* I have heard give my Lord *Clarendon* an ill word as to his Government in *Ireland*. On the contrary, they all speak exceeding things of him, particularly of his Zeal and Pains for Supporting the *Protestant Interest* in that Kingdom; which gain'd their hearts to as great a degree, if not more than most Chief Governours had ever been there; they never parted with any Chief Governour with so much regret: and, as I have been told, none courted him more when he was there, than this Author, who was admitted one of his Excellency's Chaplains; but now thinks fit that should be forgotten, at least kept for a more seasonable Juncture.

But C. 2. *S.* 4 *n.* 1. *p.* 19. he has an *Innendo* of a higher Nature than this: It imports no less than that the Protestants of *Ireland* conquering the *Irish* there, gives them a Title to *Ireland* independent on the Crown of *England*. He places the Scene indeed in another Reign; but the Application is too obvious to be mistaken.

I suppose none will deny but K. C. 2. at his Restauration in the year 1660. to the Crown of *England*, had thereby a good Title to *Ireland*: But this Author plainly insinuates as if the *English Rebels* who *Conquer'd Ireland*, as he calls it, under *Oliver*, had thereby gained a Right to it for themselves; and therefore makes it not a *Duty*, but a meer Act of *Generosity* in them, to call home K. C. 2. and says, That they *bestow'd Ireland* upon him, *&c.* These are his words, *viz.*

"The Conquerors (viz. *Oliver's* Army) *joined in bringing home*

K. C. 2.

K. C. 2. *and generously gave up themselves, together with the Kingdom of* Ireland, *without Articles or Conditions, into his hands.* Where observe, They had a Right to have kept him out, and not to have admitted him without such Articles and Conditions as they thought fit; And our Author does not seem to approve of their receiving him without such Articles; as he does not the King's restoring the Conquered, under certain Qualifications, to a part of the forfeited Lands. Kings are in a good condition, when all their Actions are thus to be Arraign'd by every one who can take the Boldness to call them to an Account, and Publish their Censure of Majesty to the World. The same Language is now in many of their mouths, as to the present Reduction of *Ireland*, and they grudge the Articles of *Limerick* and *Galloway*, &c. not considering, that there is no Government, but by the necessity of their Affairs may be forced sometimes to take Measures which may alarm some sort of People; and if, for this, People have liberty to attack the Government in every Coffee-house and Cabal, what Peace can be lasting? tho' they should do it by such discreet *Insuendo's* as this Author. *Kings now indeed are upon their good Behaviour!* as this Author of late loyally expressed it on the Thirtieth of *January* in *Christ-Church Dublin*, applying it to that Day, to shew the glorious Change of his Principles.

But for a Noble stroke, both for speaking at *Random*, for *Insuendo's*, and for *weight of Argument*, see C. 3. S. 12. n. 22. p. 165. It is thus stil'd in the Heads of Discourse: *Protestants lost more in* Ireland, *than all that favour K. J's Cause in* England *are worth.* In the Section it self he adds *Scotland* too. This is a Discovery the Parliament would thank him for, at least Mr. *Fuller.* I dare not ask this Author by what means he came to know more than King and Parliament, or any in *England* pretend to, to find out all the *Jacobites* in *England* and *Scotland*, and the value of their *Estates*: Well, it must pass by *Insuendo*, and that cannot be disprov'd. But he *insuendo's* in the *Jacobites Thoughts* too, as well as their *Estates. And I suppose*, says he, *it would put them* (the *Jacobites*) *out of conceit with Him* (K. J.) *or any other King* (there he handsomly brings in K. *W.* and shews the Opinion, as he believes, of the *Williamites*, at least you may conclude

clude it is his own.) *that should take away but one half of their Estates from them.* There the Government has the stint of his Obedience.

But has not this Author's Intelligence brought him the News yet of the Deprivation of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other English Bishops and Clergy, with a greater Number in *Scotland*, who have lost the whole of their Estates, and it is believed would lay down their Lives too for what they think to be their Duty to their King: And there are many *Lay-Jacobites* as resolute even as they. Did this Author never hear that Mr. *Ashton* suffered Death, and would not own this to be a Fault? And that the Bishops of *Chichester* and *Worcester* asserted it upon their Death-beds; and that they would have gone to the Stake, rather than have forsaken their *Passive Obedience*, or taken the *present Oaths*. How is it possible that a Man so well read as the Author, in the Primitive Persecutions, should think losing but half ones Estate so mighty a Matter, in asserting the Principles of our Religion?

Incredible *Matters of Fact.*

But these things we can better hear, than where he would impose upon us such *Incredible* Stories as would not pass at a Country Wake. Such is that, *c.* 2. *s.* 8. *n.* 4. *p.* 33. where he gives us such an Idea of the *Wild Irish*, as he that said he had seen some of them so tame that they would eat Meat out of his hand. He says that it seemed an unreasonable Hardship to those of them who were Landlords, *That they should be called to an account for killing or robbing their Tenants, or ravishing their Daughters.* I confess this so startled me, from an Author of his Gravity, and living in that Country, that it put me upon the Curiosity of enquiring of some Gentlemen of that Country, who told me it was just as true as their *having Hair upon their Teeth.* That there were ill Men among them, and Murthers and Rapes have been committed, as in other places; but that they were so savage and ignorant, at this time of day, as not to expect to be called to an account for such horrible Crimes, is an Assertion that astonishes every body that hears of it. If he means that in the time of this War, such Crimes went unpunished, others have the same to say; Witness Dr. *Gorge's* Letter. But the

Author's

Author's Topick in this place is not of the time of the War, but of the manner of theſe People *before*; ſo that it is an egregious Impoſition upon our *Engliſh Underſtandings*, to think to paſs this upon us.

It is almoſt as ſtrange as this, what he tells, *c.* 3. *ſ.* 11. *n.* 8. *p.* 138. That Colonel *Luttrel*, Governor of *Dublin*, condemned Mr. *Piercy*, a Merchant, to be hanged, for ſaying *(very calmly) That he was not willing to part with his Goods, if he could help it*: And as ſtrange that Mr. *Piercy* ſhould eſcape, becauſe the Governour could not find any of the *Provoes*.

If you can hardly believe that Mr. *Piercy* ſhould be condemned for ſpeaking ſuch innocent words, and that *very calmly*, you will be no Proſelyte to this Author, who as confidently, and with as little Voucher, that is, none at all, tells in the ſame place, That Mr. *Bell*, a Proteſtant Merchant, was *confined to cloſe Priſon, and no body allowed to ſpeak to him*, for---- I would have the Reader gueſs the Crime, leſs, if it could be, than that of Mr. *Piercy*.---It was without *any Crime* ſo much as *alledged* againſt him, ſays our Author. We ſay, It is eaſie to find a Stick to beat a Dog. Were the *Proteſtants* ſo *Loyal* to K. *J.* or the *Iriſh* ſo *dull*, that they could make no pretence of a Fault when they impriſoned ſo conſiderable a Merchant, and under ſuch ſevere Confinement as to allow none to ſpeak to him?

There is ſuſpicion in the very look of this Story; there muſt be ſomething elſe in it: Reader, then, take the truth of it thus; This *Bell* was not only permitted, but encouraged by K. *J.* to purſue his Trade, had Paſports and Safeguards granted him, and particular Favours, and had ſeveral Returns from *France*, whereby he feather'd his Wing ſo well, that he grew Richer than ever before. I have heard ſome ſay that he got to the value of 10000 *l.* while K. *J.* was in *Ireland*; and to expreſs his ſenſe of the Favours he had received from K. *J.* and his Officers, in *Sept.* 90. after K. *W.* had riſen from before *Limerick*, he made a Treat for *Buno Talbot* Eſq; a *Roman Catholick*, one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in *Ireland* to K. *J.* at the *Dukes Head* in *Damas-ſtreet*, *Dublin*, in acknowledgment of K. *J*'s Grace, and Mr. *Talbot*'s with others of K. *J*'s Officers Kindneſs,

and many Civilities to him, which he abundantly teſtified before ſeveral Proteſtants then in the Company; from ſome of whom I have this. Yet this Author ſays, *ibid.* That K. *J.* would not ſuffer the Proteſtants to Trade; and when they brought any Goods from *France*, *they were ſeiz'd, and put into the hands of Papiſts, to be diſpoſed of by them, and the right Owners not ſuffered ſo much as to oblige a Friend with a little Salt, or a Rundlet of Brandy. Thus Mr.* Bell *was ſerved*, ſays our Author; and that the only reaſon of his Impriſonment was, *that he might think no more of Trading.* But this Author being ſo well acquainted with Mr. *Bell*, and one of his Cabal and Directors in *Dublin*, muſt be ſuppoſed to know ſomething of his *Impriſonment*, as well as of his *Trading*; He might have told us the whole Truth, if he had pleaſed; which was, That Mr. *Bell* being thus encouraged and entruſted by K. *J.* made uſe of it to betray him all that was in his power. In order to which, he propoſed to His Majeſty a method of ſending what Diſpatches he thought fit into *Scotland*; which was, to grant *Bell* a Licenſe to ſend a Ship with Goods thither; and he having Friends and Correſpondents there, it would paſs unſuſpected: and he would undertake to convey any Meſſenger ſafe His Majeſty ſhould ſend, and had contrived a private place in his Ship for Papers, *&c.* if a Search ſhould be made. The King truſting to the Integrity of the Man, gave him the Licenſe he deſired, and ſent one Mr. *Strauchan* in his Ship, with Diſpatches to ſeveral of His Friends. Mr. *Bell* having thus ſucceeded in his vertuous Deſign, wrote immediately to his Correſpondent in *Glaſgow*, to whom the Goods were conſign'd, acquainting him with Mr. *Strauchan's* coming from K. *J.* and what part of the Veſſel the Papers were hid in, and deſired him to ſend this Account to the Council; which accordingly he did, and ſent in Mr. *Bell's* Letter, which was read publickly at the Council-board; upon which, Mr. *Strauchan* was apprehended, and all his Papers ſeiz'd, and the Perſons to whom He and They were addreſſed were committed, as the Counteſs of *Erroll*, &c. And it was upon Advice of this Treachery from *Scotland*, that *Bell* was committed: And K. *J.* after his *Tyrannical* manner, would not ſuffer him to be Proſecuted, but forgave him this

piece

piece of Honesty and Zeal for the *Protestant Religion*.—— Some call this, *Mercy to a fault*.

Our Author having so faithfully related this Passage, you must likewise take his word for what he tells *c.* 3 *s.* 1. *n.* 6. That *Sir* Charles Murray *was clapt up a Prisoner by K. J. in the Fort of* Kinsale, *because he professed himself a Protestant* (which he always was, and K. *J.* knew it) *where he lay without being able to learn any Reason for his Confinement, from the* 12*th of* March 1688. *till toward the end of the following Summer*—*though he cou'd never learn either his Crime or his Accuser*. Thus our Author.

But not only Sir *Charles* (who is still in K. *J.*'s Service) but almost every body there, knew the reason of his Confinement, for it was publick, *viz.* That Sir *Charles* being aboard the *French* Admiral coming into *Ireland*, spoke several disrespectful and reflecting things of the *French King*; of which the *French* Admiral acquainted the Count *d'Avaux* the *French* Ambassador, who made a complaint of it in his Masters Name to K. *J.* who could do no less than commit Sir *Charles* upon it.

But neither of these Stories is so incredible as that Plot, p. 139. *to Starve one half of the Protestants, and Hang the other*. Which this Author takes a great deal of pains to prove was the Design; and that it was really attempted, by the refusing to sell Bread to the Protestants, and taking what they had from them: Whereas Dr. *Gorge* tells (in his Letter) of the great Care and Kindness which K. *J.* shewed to the Protestants, particularly in *Dublin*, (which the Author makes the Scene of this *Starving Tragedy*) where, as the Doctor's Family told him, among other Instances of Justice done the Protestants while they were in *Dublin*, that two *Irish* Soldiers were Hanged before a *Protestant Bakers* door for stealing two Loaves not worth a shilling: They hung 48 hours, of which several Protestants now in *London* were Eye-witnesses. This did not look like a Design to *starve* the Protestants, to let them have *Bakers* of their own, and protect them so. As unlikely is it, that they designed to *Hang* the other Half of the Protestants, when in all that time these Protestants were in their Power, *viz.* in Summer 89. they did not Hang one of them, though some of them de-

deserved it by the Law then, as *this Author* and Mr *Bell*—— can witness.

But what need both *Hanging* and *Starving*? Why, there were some of these Protestants would not starve. The Author tells, *c.* 3. *p.* 13. *n.* 4. *p.* 174. That the Irish Generals kept some of them whom they drove before *Derry*, without Meat or Drink *for a whole Week*. And *Hang* that Protestant won't starve in a Week.—— But it seems King *James* had no mind to try the Experiment, for he sent immediate Orders to discharge those Protestants; and themselves confess that Lieutenant General *Hamilton*, (who was much against that Driving, but *Rosen* Commanded) ordered Meal and other Provisions to be distributed amongst them. I know not the Extent of *Irish* Abstinence, but with us in *England* a Weeks Fasting will not easily be belived.

It is as incredible that (as our Author says, *c.* 3. *s.* 5. *n.* 2. *p.* 79.) *There was not one Corporation* (in *Ireland*) *found to have forfeited by a Legal Tryal*: That *all the Corporations in the Kingdom were dissolved without the least Reason or pretence of Abuse of Privilege, or Forfeiture.*

Will any one believe, That Lawyers (and some of them this Author acknowleges to understand their Profession) would bring a *Quo Warranto* against a Charter, and not so much as pretend any *Abuse* of Privilege, or Forfeiture? I beseech you, what was it they did pretend? Was it that they had *not forfeited*? Was that the Reason they gave for bringing a *Quo Warranto*? But the Author says, they did not so much as *pretend* any Reason. He may say what he pleases.

I do not question, but there might be many Abuses in the manner of bringing those *Quo Warranto's*, and of managing them. But that there should not be so much as a *pretence* of Forfeiture against any *one*, and yet *all* be forfeited in a Form of Law, and pleading in a Court, must pass at best, for that way of representing things in this Book to excess, at random, no matter so it be ill enough.

I have heard good Lawyers say, That few Charters of Corporations could stand against a *Quo VVarranto*, if they were throughly examined: So far is it from a possibility of believing

believing that all the Charters of *Ireland* could defend themſelves from any breach or abuſe of Privilege.

Though theſe and many other of his Relations are very *incredible*, yet that is not ſo bad as *contradictory*: Into which Exceſs he often runs himſelf, in his Zeal to purſue his Adverſary even to the Gates of Hell, as the Saying is. *Contradictory matters of Fact.*

The firſt Example I will ſhew of this, ſhall be in his manner of treating King *James*'s Perſon, which ſurely ought to be with Civility and good Manners from this Author, for the Relation he bears to thoſe who are now on the Throne. *Eſpecially with relation to* K. J.

But, theſe notwithſtanding, our Author thinks fit flatly to give him the Lye, *c.* 2. *ſ.* 2. *n.* 1. *p.* 15. *The Repreſentation*, ſays he, *made by him*, (K. J.) *was no leſs* Falſe *than his Promiſes were unſincere.* He ſays of K. *J*'s Anſwer, *c.* 3. *ſ.* 18. *p.* 211. *n.* 6. *That the whole was a piece of Deceit, a mere Colluſion*----*But this was the Juſtice we looks for, and conſtantly met with from him.* *Whom he does not treat with common decency, giving him the* Lye, *&c.*

He might have learnt more Breeding from what he relates of King *James*, *c.* 3. *ſ.* 11. *p.* 141. *n.* 13. That the next day after the *Boyne*, ſpeaking of the P. of *Orange*, he call'd him a *merciful Prince.* This, if true, ſhewed a great Command of Paſſion and Reſentment; for none could be under greater and freſher Provocations.

But leaving theſe Matters of Form, you ſhall ſee this Author's Paſſion tranſporting him to that degree that he forgets himſelf, even to a Contradiction: When he is inveighing againſt the *Iriſh*, he makes them *force* K. *J.* to all the ill he did; and then K. *J.* is a good natur'd and a merciful Man, and ſeeks to ſave the *Proteſtants* from the Cruelty of the *Iriſh*. But when a Section comes, wherein K. *J.* is to be loaded, then he is fifteen times worſe than the *Iriſh*; then the *Iriſh* oppoſe *his* wicked Deſigns, and *he* cannot bring them to *his* pitch of Wickedneſs.

You would think this impoſſible to befal any Author of common Conſideration, but you ſhall be judge, *c.* 4. *n.* 1. *p.* 225. " He owns K. *J*'s *natural Compaſſion and merciful* " *Diſpoſition*, c. 3. ſ. 1. p. 49. n. 8. He tells you of his " *good Nature*, his *natural Clemency*; and perhaps, ſays he, " *if He* (K. *J.*) *alone had been to have had the diſpoſal of them*

" (our Lives and Liberties) *and would have followed his na-*
" *tural inclinations, we should not so much have feared to have*
" *trusted him*; *but whilst he had such Ministers about*
" *him*, ---&c.

Here the fault is in the *Ministers*, who would not suffer the King to follow his *natural* inclinations and *Clemency*. But, *c.* 3. *ſ.* 12. *n.* 15. he ſays, " *When it was left to K. J. entirely*
" *what hopes could any Proteſtant have?* And *c.* 2. *ſ.* 8. *n.* 5. *p.* 67. he tells, " How the *Iriſh* oppoſed K. *J*'s Arbitrary
" Proceedings to that degree, that *he is ſaid to have fallen*
" *into ſo violent a Paſſion, that his Noſe fell a bleeding.* And *c.* 3. *ſ.* 12. *n.* 17. *d.* 6. *p.* 159. " he ſeverely rates the At-
" torney-General *Neagle*, for withſtanding his Diſpenſing
" Power. And *c.* 2. *ſ.* 5. *n.* 3: *p.* 23. he ſays, Duke *Powis*
" uſed his Intereſt with the King to put a ſtop to them (the
" Acts of Attainder, and Repeal of the Acts of Settlement) *but*
" *was not able to do it.* How falſe this is, I have ſhewn from the Teſtimony of my Lord *Granard* and others: But this is not the matter now; I am not now upon diſproving what he ſays, only to ſhew the Contradiction of what he avers. Now he puts the blame upon the King himſelf, and makes him worſe than his Miniſters: yet *c.* 3. *ſ.* 13. *p.* 169. he turns about again, and ſays, *They* (the Proteſtants) *knew, that if the King did not interpoſe*, neither Juries nor Witneſſes would be wanting to deſtroy them. Now the Proteſtant Security is in K. *J.* to ſave them from the *Iriſh*. *C.* 3. *ſ.* 18. *n.* 11. this Author ſhews, " How K. *J.* appeared moſt
" zealouſly for the Proteſtants, and turn'd out the Mayor
" of *Wexford* for not Reſtoring the Church of *Wexford* to the
" Proteſtants, according to His Majeſty's Order. And *c.* 3. *ſ.* 13. *n.* 3. *p.* 168. he tells, " How the King carefully exa-
" min'd and redreſt the deceit of the *Fryers*, and ſaid in great
" anger, That for ought he ſaw *the Proteſtants were wrong'd*,
" *and miſrepreſented unto him.* Yet in the ſame page he makes K. *J.* a Monſter of Cruelty: He ſays, the very *Iriſh* Judges, *Nugent* himſelf, whom this Author makes the worſt of them all, were for acquitting Mr. *Browne* for making his eſcape from thoſe who came to plunder him: " *But after he*
" (Judge *Nugent*) *had diſcourſed His Majeſty, he proceeded*
" *vigorouſly againſt the Gentleman, and procured him to be*
" *found*

"found Guilty, by a Partial Jury, and notwithſtanding the Tears "and Petitions of Mrs. Browne *his Wife, with 5 or 6 Children, beg- "ging for her Husband's Life at his feet, reinforced with all the Friends "and Intereſt ſhe could make.* Yet he repreſents K. J. to be proof "againſt all this, and to have Mr. *Browne* Hang'd, Drawn, "and Quarter'd. *This awakened* (ſays he) *all the Proteſtants "in* Ireland; *They ſuſpected that Judge* Nugent *would act "the ſame Part in* Ireland, *that Chief Juſtice* Jefferies *had "done in* England; *and they knew that if the King did not "interpoſe, neither Juries nor Witneſſes would be wanting to "deſtroy them.*

If ever there was ſuch a Conſequence as this! K J. inclines the Judges to pack partial Juries, and yet He was all the Security againſt Judges packing ſuch Juries. He ſays, *p.* 170. That *it was ſuppoſed that he* (Judge *Nugent*) *was encouraged to do it* (*viz.* to Hang *Browne*) *by K. J. himſelf.*

The Caſe of Mr. Brown *and Sir* Tho. Southwell.

But now as to this Crime of *Browne* (how eaſie it is to palliate matters!) this Author ſays it was only *for making his eſcape from thoſe who came to plunder him.* But the Story is thus, as the *Iriſh Proteſtants* here do tell it: The Earl of *Inchiquin* and Captain *Henry Boyle*, with the generality of the Proteſtant Gentlemen in the Province of *Munſter*, having entred into an *Aſſociation* in *Decemb.* 88. (as the Proteſtants in *Ulſter* and *Connaught* had done) they reſolved to ſeize upon *Corke* and *Bandon*, as the places of greateſt Strength and Conſequence in the Province. Their Deſign took effect at *Bandon*, which joyned with them: But the Lord Deputy having notice of their Proceedings, ſent Major-General *Mac-Carty* (now Lord *Mount-Caſſell*) to obſerve them; He pretending to keep fair with them, they attempted bringing him over to declare for the P. of *Orange*, and ſome of them had hopes of it: but he proved too cunning for them, prevented their ſeizing of *Corke*, and when Captain *Henry Boyle*, upon that diſappointment, fortified his Houſe, *Caſtle-Martyr*, he beſieged him there. Upon this Sir *Tho. Southwell* in the County of *Limerick*, and ſeveral other Proteſtant Gentlemen, marched with the greateſt Force they could make to raiſe the Siege; in their march they ſeiz'd on all the *Papiſts Horſes*; and this Mr. *Browne*, who was

was then one of them, took the Horſes of *Neagle* of *Moyallow*, who was then High-Sheriff of the County of *Corke*, and a Man was killed in the Fray; and all this our Author calls *only making his eſcape from thoſe who came to plunder him.* But to tell out my Story: Sir *T. Southwell* and his Company hearing upon their March, that *Caſtle Martyr* was ſurrendred, he endeavoured to make his way to *Sligo*, to joyn the Lord *Kingſton* and other *Aſſociators* in *Connaught*, who were all in Arms, and as this Author tells, *p.* 170. he and 200 of his Men were taken by a *ſmall* Party of K. J's Dragoons: (not much to the Glory of their Courage) And this Author ſays, *p.* 171. That they were over-perſuaded to plead Guilty, *though they had not been guilty of any Overt Act that could be conſtrued Treaſon.* What this Author means by *Overt Acts*, or what by *Treaſon*, he will tell us in the next, and likewiſe give us ſome probable Reaſon why K. *J.* ſhould *Reprieve* and afterwards *Pardon* Sir *Thomas Southwell*, and all the reſt who were engaged in that buſineſs, and have ſuch a particular Malice only at *Browne*, whom he knew as little as any of the reſt. Otherwiſe he muſt give us leave to ſuſpend a little our belief of his Narrative in this matter; particularly that K. *J.* ſhould influence either Judge or Jury to take away Mr. *Brown's* Life, and that he ſhould be inexorable in Mr. *Brown's* Caſe alone, and yet ſo very merciful to all the reſt, is a Contradiction to believe, if his Caſe or Circumſtances did in no ways differ from theirs.

But it is no wonder that this Author cannot keep himſelf from Contradictions through the whole Series of his Book, when the very Titles, the Heads of his Diſcourſe, are contradictory one to another; which one would think an ordinary Care might have avoided. C. 2. *ſ.* 8. *n* 10. the Title is, *That K.* J's *Deſire to be abſolute induced him to change his Religion*: And yet, *c.* 3. *ſ.* 1. *n.* 5. the Title is, *Zeal for his Religion made him act againſt his Intereſt, to that Degree*, (ſays this Author, in his Proſecution of this, *c.* 3. *ſ.* 1. *n.* 5. *p.* 46.) *that the Proteſtants could not but conclude that K. J. was ſo intent upon deſtroying them, that, ſo he compaſſed that Deſign, he cared not if he enſlaved himſelf and the Kingdoms.* P. 45. *That he had a ſetled Reſolution not to mind*

mind any Intereſt which came in Competition with his grand Deſign of advancing Popery *and the Slavery of the Nations. To effect which, it is manifeſt he was content to be a Vaſſal to* France. Thus the Author. Here are Contradictions upon Contradictions; That K. *J.* ſhould be content to be a *Vaſſal*, that he might be *Abſolute!* If you ſay, that muſt be underſtood only of his other Grand Deſign, *viz. advancing Popery*, which had the Aſcendant even over his *Intereſt*, or his deſire of being *Abſolute*. This will contradict the other Head of Diſcourſe, which gives the *deſire of Abſoluteneſs* in him the Aſcendant over his *Religion*, as being the Groundwork and Motive which induc'd him to change his Religion. And yet, page 10. of his Thankſgiving-Sermon, *Perhaps*, ſays he, *K. J. chiefly deſired an Abſolute Authority over his Subjects, that he might compel them into the boſom of his Church.*

And it does not appear a leſs Contradiction than any of theſe, that a King ſhould change the Principles of the *Church of England* [*as then taught*] for thoſe of *Rome*, out of a deſire to be the more *Abſolute*. The Church of *Rome* (4 *Coun. Lat C.* 3, &c.) gives Power to the Popes to Depoſe Kings, and they have ſhewn many Examples of it. On the other hand, the Church of *England*, when K. *J.* forſook her Communion, damn'd this *Depoſing Doctrine*, and the Practice of it, and valued themſelves upon the Principle of *Non-Reſiſtance* to their King, *upon any Pretence whatſoever*, as their diſtinguiſhing Character, and an eſſential part of their Religion; and they had never varied from it, nor was it thought by any, or themſelves, that ever they would.

I am ſure if they were not in earneſt with it *then*, they can give no demonſtration *now* that they can be in earneſt with any thing: and it is in every bodies mouth, That K. *J*'s truſting too much to their *Paſſive Obedience* haſtened his Ruin; which could not be, if he had not thought this to have been their Principle. Now for a King of this Opinion to quit *this Church*, and go to that Church which teaches the *Depoſing Doctrine*--- to do this out of a deſire of *Abſo-*

luteneſs, is ſuch a Contradiction as this Author would have ſeen at another time.

C. 3. *ſ.* 12. *n.* 15. *p.* 153. he makes K. *J.* moſt abſolute in the Parliament in *Ireland*; "That this Parliament openly "profeſs'd it ſelf a Slave to the King's Will, and that he "was look'd upon as a Man factiouſly and rebelliouſly in-"clin'd, that would dare to move any thing after any Fa-"vourite in the Houſe had affirm'd that it was contrary to "the King's Pleaſure. Accordingly, the Author inſtances "ſeveral particulars of K. *J*'s Abſoluteneſs in this Parlia-"ment; particularly, That upon his ſignifying his diſſatis-"faction to the Repeal of *Poyning*'s Act, the Parliament let "it fall, with ſeveral other Acts, tho' the *Iriſh* had talk'd "much, and earneſtly deſired the Repeal of *Poyning*'s Act, "it being the greateſt ſign and means of their Subjection to "*England*.

Yet, *p.* 37. you have the *Iriſh* "diſpute his Orders, and "and ſtand on the Laws, and they would not ſuffer him to "diſpenſe with their Act of Attainder, *&c.*---And yet *p.* 18. "They piſh'd at the Laws as Trifles, and declared they "liked no Government but that of *France*; that they would "make the King as Abſolute here, as that King was there. *P.* 31. "The Temper and Genius of theſe Men were at "Enmity to the Laws, and fitted for Slavery.---They pro-"moted an Abſolute and Deſpotick Power in the King.--- "They were fit Inſtruments to ſacrifice the Laws and Reli-"gion of the Kingdom to the Will of their Sovereign. *P.* 40. "They neither knew, nor feared, nor cared for the Laws. *P.* 82. "The Members of Parliament would not ſtick to "ſacrifice the Liberties and Laws of the Kingdom to the "King's Will. *P.* 153. They devolv'd the Power of Making "and Repealing Laws on the King's Pleaſure. *P.* 24 "It "was impoſſible the *Grand Segnior* ſhould have fitted him-"ſelf better with Inſtruments for promoting an Arbitrary "Government, than he (*K. J.*) did. P. 31. "No body can "deny but they were well choſen for the Work for which "he deſigned them.

Yet

Yet this Author could not think they were ſo very well choſen, when he makes them ſtand up for the Laws, and ſtruggle with the King againſt Arbitrary Power, till they made his Noſe burſt out a bleeding for vexation, as you have heard before.

Now, would you believe that this K. *J.* who was ſo highly bent to be Abſolute and Arbitrary, would be content to be a *Vaſſal* to *France*? Yet this Author aſſerts it ſo poſitively, *p.* 45. as to ſay that *it is manifeſt*.

And *p.* 183. That he took care to put it out of his own Power to help the Proteſtants. *Qui occidere quemquam nolit, poſſe velit.* It is not natural for an Arbitrary Man to deſire any thing to be out of his Power, much leſs would he *take care* to put it out of his own Power. If he did, it muſt proceed out of an inveterate malice to the *Proteſtants*; yet they all think His being there was their Preſervation; that he hindered the *Iriſh* not only from Maſſacres, but from Burning or Plundering *Dublin*, and the whole Country when they left it, and many other Outrages: And our Author, when he is upon painting out the Barbarity of the *Iriſh*, does frequently conſeſs it, and inſiſt upon it; and as frequently deny it, when his Spleen riſes againſt K. *J.*

He cries out, *c.* 3. *ſ.* 13. *n.* 3. *d.* 4. *p.* 172. *And when men were thus ſlaughtered with his* (K. *J*'s) *approbation.*---- This is a very heavy Charge; and what was the reaſon of it? Becauſe, ſays he, *they were killed with* K. *J*'s *Protections in their Pockets.*

Of K. J. *keeping his Protections.*

I am afraid there is no Caſe where we could come upon the Compariſon betwixt the *Proteſtant* and the *Iriſh* Army in *Ireland*, with more diſadvantage to the *Proteſtants*, than that of keeping their Protections, or puniſhing the Breaches of them.

In this I appeal to Secretary *Gorge*'s Letter; in which he gives a remarkable Inſtance of K. *J*'s both granting Protections to the *Proteſtants*, and making it good to them, notwithſtanding the greateſt provocations; *viz.* Secretary *Gorge*'s Wife and Family were not only Protected and Preſerved by K. *J.* in *Dublin*, while he was in ſo conſiderable a Poſt againſt K. *J.* as to be Secretary to the General *Schomberg*,

Schomberg, then at the Head of an Army in *Ireland* to drive K. *J.* out thence; but upon their application to K. *J.* he gave them leave and his Paſs-port to go to the Secretary to *Schomberg*'s Army. And thus by K. *J*'s Clemency he had his Wife and Family reſtored ſafe to him, at the ſame time that he was endeavouring to diſpoſſeſs K. *J.* of all he had in the World.

The *Secretary*, in his Letter, aggravates the Breach of Protections, and want of Diſcipline in *Schomberg*'s Army, by ſhewing how regularly King *James* governed his Army, and not only threatned ſevere Penalties upon the Breach of his Proclamations and Protections, but duly exacted them.

"The reſpective Penalties injoyned in the ſaid Proclamation, (ſays the *Secretary*, viz. K. *J*'s *Proclamation againſt plundering and other Irregularities*) are ſeverely and impartially executed on the reſpective Offenders. My Family tells me that the Week before they left *Dublin*, there were two private Soldiers publickly executed before a *Proteſtant* Baker's Door, for ſtealing two Loaves not worth a Shilling: And a Fortnight before, a *Lieutenant* and *Enſign* were publickly executed at a place, where, on pretence of the King's Service, they preſt a Horſe going with Proviſion to *Dublin* Market: Two others were condemned, and expected daily to be executed for the like Offence. Theſe ſevere Examples, confirming the Penalties of theſe publick Declarations, contribute ſo much to the Quiet of the Country, that were it not for the Country Raparees and Tories, theirs, 'tis thought, would be much quieter than ours.

"The truth is, too many of the *Engliſh*, as well as *Dane* and *French*, are highly oppreſſive to this poor Country; whereas our Enemies have reduced themſelves to that Order, that they exerciſe Violence upon none, but the Proprieties of ſuch as they know to be abſent, or as they Phraſe it, in *Rebellion* againſt them, whoſe Stock, Goods, and Eſtates, are ſeized, and ſet by the Civil Government, and the Proceed applied for and towards the Charge of the War.

Theſe

Theſe are the Words of the *Secretaries* Letter; where you ſee it was K. *William*'s Army that *deſtroyed*, and K. *James*'s that *protected* the Country. And as many Proteſtants as ſtaid at home, and truſted themſelves to King *James*'s Protection, preſerved their Goods and Improvements, and live now plentifully; while thoſe that fled from him loſt what they had, and ſmart now ſeverely under theſe Neceſſities, which their Neighbours eſcaped, who either would not, or could not fly from the Mercy of their Natural Sovereign.

The *Secretary* ſays here, That they ſeized the Eſtates of the *Abſentees*. But I muſt add to this, That where any Application was made in behalf of *Abſentees*, and any tollerable Reaſon given for their not returning, there was not only no advantage taken of their not coming in within the time limited in K. *J*'s ſeveral Proclamations to that purpoſe, but they had Time, *ſine Die*, given them, come when they could; and in the mean time their Goods were preſerved, and though ſeized by the Sheriffs for the King's uſe, being forfeited by the Laws there, the King commanded the Sheriffs to deliver the Goods into the hands of ſuch Friends of the *Abſentees*, as made Application for them: And where the *Irish* Sheriffs *refuſed* or *delayed* to deliver ſuch Goods, they were ſeverely puniſhed, and forced to do it, or others put in their places that would: For you cannot imagine but it went mightily againſt the Grain with them, to be forced to reſtore the Goods of thoſe who, as they ſuppoſed, were in actual Rebellion, and their declared Enemies, and which they expected (and they thought reaſonably) as a Reward for their Services: For who would not take the Spoil of their Enemies? The *Irish* underſtood it, as if the King ſtill had an Eye towards his *Proteſtant* Subjects, and preferred their Intereſt, though in Rebellion againſt him, before that of the *Irish*, though at that time ſerving him; or as Dr. *Gorge* words it better, That King *James* conſidered the *Proteſtants* who were in Arms againſt him, rather as *deluded Subjects* than as *obſtinate Rebels*.

The Iriſh *Proteſtants*, who ſtaid in *Ireland* while King *James* was there, will atteſt the Truth of what I have ſaid. I appeal to *Thomas Pottinger* Eſq; who was then *Sovereign* of *Belfaſt*, the greateſt Town of Trade in the *North* of *Ireland*, whether upon his Application to King *James*, his Majeſty did not give him Protection after Protection for *Belfaſt* and the Country about? And whether ſuch Protections were not made good to them by King *James*'s Officers? and where any of the *Iriſh* offered to tranſgreſs againſt the ſaid Protections, they were not ſeverely puniſhed, upon the firſt Application to the King or thoſe commanding under him?

This is likewiſe atteſted by Colonel *John Hill*, preſent Governor of *Fort-William* at *Innerloeby* in *Scotland*, but living at that time in *Belfaſt*, in his Letter from *Belfaſt* to the Sovereign of *Belfaſt*, then in *Dublin*, (inſerted *No.* 25. *Appendix*) and which Letter he deſires the Sovereign to ſhew to none, and therefore ſpoke his mind in it, and not to flatter the Government. There he tells how well *Grievances* were *redreſſed*, and King *James*'s Army *kept to ſtrict Diſcipline.*

I demand further, Whether the ſaid Mr. *Pottinger* did not, upon his application to King *James*, obtain leave for the Merchants of *Belfaſt*, and of the Country about, to return from *Scotland*, and other places whither they had fled, even after the time limitted by His Majeſties Proclamation for their Return? And whether, upon a ſecond application to His Majeſty, and repreſenting that there was an Embargo on the *Scots* ſide, King *James* did not grant them time to return, without ſtinting them to any day, while any reaſonable Excuſe could be made for their delay?

And whether he (the ſaid Mr. *Pottinger*) did not ſend Notice of this to the *Belfaſt* Merchants, and others then in *Scotland*? And though few or none of them came over till after *Schomberg* landed in *Ireland* with the *Engliſh* Army in *Auguſt* 89; yet whether their Goods were not preſerved for them all that time by King *James*'s Order, ſtill expecting their Return? And whether they did not accordingly

cordingly find their Goods at their Return? Nay, even when *Schomberg* landed, and King *James* was obliged to remove from that Country, and leave it to the Enemy, Whether he did not give ſpecial Directions to Major-General *Maxwell*, then Commanding in *Belfaſt*, not to ſuffer any of the Goods of the *Proteſtants* to be plundered, nor any of the Country to be burnt upon their leaving it? And whether theſe Commands of His Majeſty were not punctually obſerved, not only at *Belfaſt*, but at *Lisburn*, *Hillsborough*, and all that Country, and even at *Dundalk* it ſelf, which King *James* left in good Order for *Schomberg* to encamp in, and make his Frontier his firſt Campagne?

Neither will Mr. *Pottinger* deny, That Mr. *Thomas Crocker*, Merchant of *Yoghall* in the Province of *Munſter* in *Ireland*, and ſeveral other Merchants of *Yoghall*, *Cork*, and other places of that Province, did complain to him, That their Friends which ſtay'd behind in *Ireland* while King *James* was there, did make no application in their behalf to King *James* (whether out of negligence or ſtubbornneſs); which if it had been done, they did not doubt but they would have had their Goods preſerved for them, as they had at *Belfaſt*, and other places in the North of *Ireland*, indeed in all places which deſired it.

And I likewiſe deſire Mr. *Pottinger* to tell whether the ſeveral Protections he obtained for theſe parts of the Country about *Belfaſt*, were not given *gratis*, without any Fees? And whether there was any Conditions, ſo much as an Oath, required of thoſe who returned, and took the benefit of His Majeſties Grace? And though their taking the Oath of Fidelity to King *James* was named in one of the Protections granted to *Belfaſt*, and the Country about, (here inſerted, *n.* 23. *Appendix.*) yet, whether, upon Mr. *Pottinger*'s repreſenting to my Lord *Melfort*, That the Oath might perhaps ſtartle ſome, and hinder their Return, his Lordſhip did not allow Mr. *Pottinger*, and the other Magiſtrates, not to require the ſaid Oaths? And whether accordingly the Returning Proteſtants and others were

were not received into Protection, without any Oath at all required from them?

King *James* had tried the Security of Oaths before: They are certain Snares, and a very uncertain Security.

Mr. *Pottinger* can likewiſe give Atteſtation to the Truth of what Secretary *Gorge* has told in his Letter, of King *James*'s not only keeping his Protections to the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, but of the extraordinary kindneſs he upon all Occaſions expreſſed to the *Engliſh*: How ſeveral *Engliſh* Ships which came into *Belfaſt*, (ſome from the *Indies*, who knew not of the War, others by ſtreſs of Weather, or other Cauſes) and were ſeized by the *Iriſh*, were always Releaſed by King *James*, were ſuffered to unload, and to load again, and purſue their Voyage to *England*. Mr. *Pottinger* can tell the Ships, their Burthen, aad their Maſters Names. Nay, King *James* did not only releaſe particular Ships upon their application, but gave general Orders to Major-General *Maxwell*, and others Commanding on the Sea-Coaſts in the *North*, (and we ſuppoſe the like in other places) That no *Engliſh* Ship ſhould be diſturb'd which came thither.

Many more Inſtances might be given; but theſe are ſufficient to demonſtrate that King *James* did not only freely grant and inviolably keep his Protections to the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, but extended it likewiſe to as many of the *Engliſh* as came under his Power, though againſt their Will.

The *French* Fleet which carried King *James* into *Ireland* took ſome *Engliſh* Merchant-men while His Majeſty was on board; and ſome of the Maſters were brought before King *James*; who, expecting nothing but Death, fell down upon their knees begging their Lives; which brought Tears into the King's Eyes, and he not only reſtored them their Ships with all their Effects, but ordered two Frigats to attend them, and ſee them ſafe through all the *French* Fleet.

Dr. *Gorge*

Dr. *Gorge* has told you of ſome ſevere Examples made in *Dublin*, to ſhew King *James's* poſitive Reſolution to protect the *Proteſtants*; and Mr. *Pottinger* (whom I have quoted as to the *North*) can tell how Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*, when he marched into *Lisburn* after the Break of *Drommore*, was ſo far from taking the Plunder of the Country, that he cauſed a Soldier to be ſhot in the Streets of *Lisburn*, for taking a Silver Spoon from one Mrs. *Ellis*, though Mrs. *Ellis* and many more of the Proteſtant Inhabitants did beg his Life.

The 15th of *March* 88. the day before the *Break of Drommore*, when the *Proteſtants* were generally fled, and the *Iriſh* thought the Plunder was their own, the Lieutenant-General, upon Mr. *Pottinger's* Repreſentation, ſent immediately his Protection to *Belfaſt*, which preſerved it from 400 Men of the Gariſon of *Carrickfergus* (which is but 8 miles diſtance) who were on their march to have Plunder'd *Belfaſt*; but they obeyed the Protection.

The 23d the Lieutenant-General gave Mr. *Pottinger* another Protection for Town and Country. The 3d of *June* following, Mr. *Pottinger* had that Protection from King *James*, which I have inſerted *n.* 23. *Appendix*; and it was punctually obſerved, till the day that *Schomberg* landed there with the *Engliſh* Army in *Auguſt* 1689. Then *Schomberg* iſſued Proclamations of Protection and Encouragement to the *Iriſh* who ſhould return to their Habitations, and follow their Labour; which many accepted, and great part of the Country was thereby planted, ſome in as full manner as before the Revolution. But notwithſtanding, the *Proteſtant Army* fell upon them, and ſoon waſted the whole Country: And when the *Iriſh* held out their *Protections*, they tore them, and bid them wipe their —— with them; and none were puniſhed for this Breach of Protection: For when I have asked ſome of their Officers the Reaſon of this, all the Anſwer they gave me was, That where they had not Pay, they could not keep their Army under Diſcipline. I will not diſpute the Validity of this Anſwer; but the Matter of Fact is undeniable. And if any ſhould lay all this upon King *William*,

and say it was with his Approbation, it would be construed a malicious and ill-grounded Accusation.

The Massacre *of the* Laird of Glencoe, *with others of his Clan.*

Or suppose some *lewd Jacobite* (for there is no Stop in Wickedness,) should charge upon King *William* the *Dewitting* of the *Mac-Donalds* of *Glencoe*, after they had submitted to his Government, and lived under his *Protection*; only because the Blood-hound-Officers, who commanded that inhuman Massacre in cold Blood, pretended the King's Commission, and are not punished for it? As you will see by the Copy of the Orders, and the Account of that Massacre from a good hand; but in short, only in a *Letter to a Friend*, which I have inserted, *No.* 19 and must serve till a Relation more at full shall be published.

Now who could have the ill Nature to believe King *William* capable of granting such an Order to cut Mens Throats, at dead of the Night, in their Beds, who had submitted to his Government, come under his *Protection*, and sworn to him! What though the Murderers are not punished; there is a good time coming to see these Ruffains of Officers (who could give or obey such Orders) duly animadverted: Who, under pretence of Royal Authority, Butcher'd in one night (*viz.* the 12th of *February* last, or 13th at Five in the Morning) Eight and thirty Persons; and had done so to all the rest of that Sept, to the Number of several Hundreds, had not a violent Storm, which happened that night, retarded the March of another Party of Four hundred, who were ordered to fall in at the other end of the *Glen*; by which Providence so many of them made their Escape. And though some of these were killed with Protections from King *William*'s Officers in their Pockets, as you will see in the Account above-mentioned, and all of them living under his Protection, yet I am confident this Author will not say that it were just or reasonable to charge this Breach of Protections upon King *William*'s Account.

As unjust is it which this Author in this same place (*viz.* c. 3. f. 13. n. 4. p. 172. charges upon King *James*, in

in relation to the *Proteſtants* in the County of *Down*; *Who* (as he avers) *had not only their Goods taken from them, but likewiſe their Wives and Daughters were Raviſhed by the Soldiers. And yet* (ſays he) *theſe* Proteſtants *proceeded no further than to complain of it to the Chief Officers, and to demand Redreſs from them* The Anſwer they had was, "That theſe Robbers and Raviſhers had "no Authority from the King for what they did; and "therefore they adviſed the Complainants to fall on "them, and oppoſe them, if they made any further At- "tempts on the Country. The poor People were ſatis- "fied with the Anſwer, and were reſolved to do as they "were directed; and accordingly fell upon the next "Party of *Soldiers* they found Plundering and commit- "ting Outrages on the Country-people, and killed ſome "of them. This, inſtead of being approved, as they "were made to believe it would be, was counted a "Rebellion: and immediately Major-General *Bohan* was "ſent among them with a Party, who Maſſacred about "*five or ſix Hundred* Men of them, in cold Blood, for "ſeveral days together. Many of thoſe who were killed "were Poor, Old, Impotent People: Many were kil- "led at their Work, and while they were buſie about "their own Affairs, and ſuſpected no ſuch matter. King "*James* was ſo far from reſenting the Barbarous Uſage "of theſe poor People, that he railed on this occaſion "againſt *Proteſtants* in general, repreſenting them as "Falſe and Perfidious; *For*, ſaid he, *many were killed "with my Protections in their Pockets:* Not conſidering the "Reflection was on his own Party, againſt whom, his "Protection, as appeared by his own Confeſſion, was no "Security.

Theſe are the Authors own words. And I muſt beg the Readers patience to examine this Story to the bottom, that he may ſee this Authors *Art* and his *Integrity*. And I will ſet down nothing but what the *Proteſtants* in that Country know to be true, and will, if occaſion be, depoſe.

This then is the Story in brief. After the Defeat of the *Proteſtant Aſſociat* Forces at *Drammore*, the 14th of *March*, 1688. Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*, willing to protect the *Proteſtants*, as well as others, who would live quietly; and having granted his Protection to *Belfaſt* and other places, as before is told, and keeping his Soldiers under ſtrict Diſcipline; yet found the Country moleſted with Iriſh *Rapperees*, or *Half-pike men*, as they called them; whom when his repeated Orders and Proclamations could not reclaim, and *Soldiers* were not in all places at hand to defend the Country from them, and the Country were afraid to fall upon them without Order, leſt it might be conſtrued a Taking Arms againſt the King; the Lieutenant-General, for the greater Security of the Country, gave Orders to the Country to ſeize any ſuch *Rapperees*, who had no Commiſſion, and to commit them to the next Goal; and if they made Reſiſtance, to kill them.

And this the Author miſtakes (I know not if wilfully) for a Liberty to fall upon the *Soldiers of the King's Army*. As if the General would not take the Puniſhment of theſe into his own hands, but leave it to the Diſcretion of the Country People, who he knew hated both him and his Soldiers, to knock his Soldiers on the head, if they pleaſed to ſay that they wronged them.

This Author, *n.* 25. of his *Appendix*, ſets down ſuch an Order as this, given by the Marquis *d'Alberville*, Principal Secretary of State to King *James*, *January* 2. 1689. directed to the Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; where, among other Inſtructions, this is the ſeventh, *viz.* "That you order all Men to fall upon Publick Robbers, "who have no regard of their Duty towards GOD, "their King or Country, deſtitute of all ſenſe of Humani-"ty; and conſider them but as Wild Beaſts, who live upon "Prey and Rapine.

How juſtly our Author infers from ſuch Orders as theſe a Liberty to the Common People to fall upon the *Army*, or any Numbers of them they could Maſter, I leave to the Judgment of the Reader.

And

And yet I have heard many *Iriſh* Proteſtants, who live in the County of *Down*, and near it, ſay, That they have not heard of any Rapes upon the *Proteſtant* Women there, as this Author ſpeaks, even by the *Rapparees*; for that Country being thick planted with *Proteſtants*, the *Rapparees* durſt not be too bold. Which you will eaſily believe, when you find what Oppoſition they were able to give, even to the King's Army.

But to go on with the Story:

There was one *Henry Hunter*, a Servant to Sir *George Atchiſon* in the County of *Ardmagh*, in the North of *Ireland*, who was made a Captain by the *Aſſociators*. Their Forces being beaten and diſperſed at *Dromnore* the 14th of *March*, 1688. this *Hunter* was taken Priſoner near *Antrim*; from whence he made his Eſcape about the middle of *April* following, and came into the Barony of *Ardes* in the County of *Down*, where they had all taken Protections from King *James*, and lived Peaceably; there being but one Company quartered in that whole Barony, (which is almoſt wholly *Scots Proteſtants*) *viz.* Captain *Con Mac-Gennis* his Company.

Hunter coming thither, got a great Rabble of theſe poor People to follow him; and about the 15th of *April*, 1689. they had a Scuffle with this Company of Captain *Mac-Gennis*, and what other *Iriſh* came to their Aſſiſtance at *Kinnin-Burne*, two Miles from *New-Town*. *Hunter*'s Rabble routed them, ſtript and wounded many, I know not if any kill'd; but he drove them out of that Barony.

This occaſioned Lieutenant-Colonel *Mark Talbot* to march from *Carrickfergus*, with about an hundred Muſqueteers, the 15th of *April* to *Belfaſt*, and the 16th to *Newtown*; But finding the Matter over, and, ſome ſay, fearing the *Scots*, who were in great Numbers, and rolling about, he returned the 17th to *Carrickfergus*.

This Commotion gave great Diſturbance to the Countrey, People leaving their Ploughs, and flying to Arms, the Wiſer ſort dreading the Conſequence of this wild Uproar, after they had taken Protection from the King.

Sir *Robert Maxwell* then living in the Caſtle of *Killileagh* in the ſaid County of *Down*, and near the Barony of *Ardes*, where this Inſurrection began, ſent one *John Stuart*, an Apothecary in the Town of *Down*, with a Letter to Captain *Patrick Savage* (a Captain in the Regiment of the Lord *Iveagh*) to invite him to bring his Company to quarter in the Town of *Killileagh*, for their Security from the Rabble in this Confuſion. Accordingly Captain *Savage* came, and finding theſe People increaſe after *Hunter*, and fearing he might be ſurprized, quartering with his Men in the open Town, he deſired Sir *Robert* to permit him to keep his Guard in the Gare-houſe, or Stables of the Caſtle. Sir *Robert* was not willing, but took two days to conſider of it; and in theſe two days he ſent one *Gawen Irwin* twice to *Hunter*, to bring him thither; who accordingly came with his Rabble, ſeized Captain *Savage* and his Lieutenant in their Quarters, fell upon the Guard, killed *three* Men, and wounded *ſix or ſeven*. Captain *Savage* complained that Sir *Robert* had betray'd him; and Mr. *Clulo*, Epiſcopal Miniſter of the place, did reſent the Barbarity of the Action, and apprehending ſome further miſchief to Captain *Savage*, took him to his own Houſe, where, though a Priſoner, he had greater Accommodation and Safety. The Lord *Iveagh* wrote to Sir *Robert Maxwell* to ſend him his Captain and Lieutenant whom he kept Priſoners. This Letter *Hunter* took upon him, and Sir *Robert* permitted him to anſwer; and the Anſwer was, That he would fight his Lordſhip; and accordingly marched out againſt my Lord, with what part of his Lordſhip's Regiment he had near *Killileagh*, and other Countrey-people of the *Iriſh* who joined him.

The

The Lord *Iveagh* retired; but endeavoured to make a Stand at *Ceyle-bridge*, near the Town of *Down*. *Hunter* forced his Paſſage, and drove my Lord and his Men over the Strand of *Dun-Drum*, into the upper and Mountainous parts of the County, for which his Lordſhip's Regiment was broke by King *James*. *Hunter* entred *Down* Triumphant, and uſed thoſe *Proteteſtants* who would not joyn with him, as ill as the *Iriſh*; committed great Diſorders and Irregularities in that Countrey, and Governed Arbitrarily during his ſhort Reign.

For now the Inſurrection was come to that Head, that it was fit for the Government to take notice of it. Major-General *Buchan* (whom this Author calls *Bohan*) was commanded againſt *Hunter*; he took with him Detachements out of the Duke of *Tyrconnel*'s Regiment of Foot, the Earl of *Antrim*'s Regiment of Foot, Colonel *Cormock O Neil*'s Regiment of Foot, and a Troop of Horſe of the Lord *Galmoy*'s Regiment, and Colonel *Cormock O Neil*'s Troop of Dragoons, which he had with his Regiment of Foot, and Captain *Fitz Gerald*'s Troop of Dragoons. Theſe Forces were then at *Carrickfergus*, *Antrim*, and *Lisburn*. The Major-General marched with the Horſe and Dragoons, and left the Foot to follow with what Diſpatch they could, who marched in one day, *viz.* the 30th of *April* 1689. from *Lisburn* to *Killileagh*, which is ſixteen long *Iriſh* Miles; they joyned the General about Five at Night, who being then within two Miles of the Enemy, marched directly upon them.

Being come within ſight of them, he ſent a Trumpet to them, deſiring their Leader, or ſome of the Chief of them, to ſpeak with him; not doubting but upon the gracious Offers he was impowered by His Majeſty to make to them, he would have been able to bring back theſe deluded People to their Duty, without ſhedding of Blood on either ſide.

Bur

But they fired upon the Trumpeter, and refuſed all Parley; ſo they engaged. *Hunter* was beaten, and fled, and his Party diſperſed.

I cannot learn the exact Number of *Hunter's* Army, or of the Slain. Some ſay he had three or four Thouſand Men. Others not above four Hundred, which may be reconciled, ſome computing the whole Rabble which followed him; others only thoſe that charged in form againſt *Buchan*, but not thoſe upon the Hills, and at greater diſtance.

Some who pretend to have viewed the Field, and helped to bury the Dead, ſay there were but *ſixty One* of *Hunter's* Men killed; and others ſay a great many more.

However, that makes nothing to our preſent Diſpute. How many were killed in Battle is not the Queſtion. But our Author ſays, That Major-General *Buchan* Maſſacred *five or ſix Hundred*, in cold Blood, for ſeveral Days together.

The contrary of which appears, from theſe two Matters of Fact, known to all the Country.

Firſt, That the Major-General was very Merciful, even on the Day of Battle.

Secondly, That he marched off his Men early next Morning, and ſo did not ſtay to Maſſacre, *for ſeveral Days together.*

As to the First. He ſtopped Execution as ſoon as the Enemy were broke, and out of Danger of Rallying: And tho' ſeveral Shot were made againſt him out of the Caſtle of *Killileagh*, as he was in purſuit of the Enemy, part of Colonel *Mark Talbot's* Wigg was ſhot off by a Bullet from the Caſtle. Yet when he reduced that Caſtle (which he did the ſame Night) he not only gave Quarters for their Lives, but would not ſuffer his Men to take any Plunder. There Major *Colaghan* ſhot one of his Men for putting his Hand to a *Proteſtant*, after Order given that they ſhould neither be Killed, nor Plundered.

Nay

Nay farther, The Major-General was ſo careful, leſt the Souldiers, ſo exaſperated, ſhould do prejudice to the *Proteſtants* in the Town, that, though the Foot had Marched ſixteen Miles that Day, and fought in the Evening, without any time to refreſh themſelves, and many of them actually Fainting with the Toyl; yet he would not ſuffer them to come into the Town, but drew them up upon an adjacent Hill, where he kept them all Night; and early next Morning Marched them back to *New Town* (a Town belonging to Sir *Robert Colvil*) into which he would not ſuffer them to enter, for the ſame fear of their doing any prejudice to the *Proteſtants* (who wholly inhabit that Town.) He only took a Guard of Horſe, and ſome Officers with himſelf into the Town to refreſh themſelves, where not one *Proteſtant* was hurt or toucht: There he diſmiſt all the Priſoners he had taken at the Fight of *Killileagh*, requiring no other Conditions of them, but an OATH not to bear ARMS again in Oppoſition to King *James* (which we know how well they kept, the firſt Opportunity they had to break it.) And tho' theſe Priſoners, as well as thoſe that were killed, had then King *James*'s Protections in their Pockets (of which King *James* did very juſtly Complain, though this Author Wonders at it;) yet the General did not require them to take out New Protections, but ſaid the Old ſhould be as Effectual to them as before their Inſurrection; and they were made good to them to the Day that *Schomberg* Landed.

The General here ſent home the Foot to their Quarters; and went himſelf with ſome Horſe to *Port a Ferry* in the *Ardes*, where he took one *Thomas Hunter* Priſoner. And having ſettled that Part of the Country returned.

As the Iriſh Forces Marched over *Belfaſt*-Bridge, going to their Quarters, their Officers ſtopped them, and ſearched to ſee if any of them had taken any Plunder in that Expedition: And what they found cauſed it to be delivered to Mr. *Pottinger*, then Sovereign of the Town, to be put up in the Town-Houſe, in order to be re-

ſtored to the Owners, as they ſhould be known, which was accordingly done.

And the Officers would not permit the Souldiers to make the leaſt halt in the Town, for fear of Diſorders, but Marched them ſtraight thro' to their Quarters at *Carrickfergus*. In which they were ſo ſtrict, that Major *Colaghan* broake a Souldiers Head for taking a Glaſs of Ale at a Door as he Marched by. Only the Regiment Quartered at *Antrim*, ſtaid at *Belfaſt* that Night, not being able to march ſo far, but committed not the leaſt Diſorder.

Had the *Proteſtant* Officers of King *William*'s Army been as careful of their *Fellow Proteſtants* in that Country, *Ireland* had not been that Wilderneſs and Deſolation, which we ſee it this Day.

It is juſt and commendable to give our Enemies their due, and not to conceal or leſſen what they do worthily, becauſe they are our Enemies.

Many of the *Iriſh Officers* were kind to the *Proteſtants*, not only in making good their Protections to them, but even where they had no Protections, and were perfectly at their Mercy.

I could give many Inſtances which I have heard from the Mouths of Proteſtant Gentlemen and Ladies, who remained in *Ireland* while King *James* was there, of the great Civility of ſeveral of the *Iriſh Officers* to them.

When the general Rout was given to the *Proteſtants* in the *North* of *Ireland*, at *Drommore*, upon the firſt Deſcent of King *James*'s Army, on the 14th of *March*, 1688. and all were flying to the Sea as faſt as they could, ſeveral *Proteſtants* fell into the Enemies hand at *Donaghadee*, a Sea-Port in the County of *Down*, where they ſought Opportunity of Shipping, to have fled out of the Kingdom.

Among theſe was Mrs. *Hawkins*, Wife to *John Hawkins* Eſq; of *Raffer-Iſland* in the County of *Down*, one of the moſt zealous and active of any in the *North* for the *Aſſociation*; in which Cauſe he was a Colonel, and had his Commiſſion from the Prince of *Orange*, (as all the reſt had) before he was made a *King*. He was among the firſt

firſt *Aſſociators*, and made himſelf Secretary to the *Aſſociation*, carried on at *Moyrah* by the Lord *Blayney*, Sir *Arthur Rawden*, &c.

All the Declarations of this *Aſſociation* were Signed *Per Order. John Hawkins.* This was before the Eſtabliſhment of the *Council of Five*, or more General *Aſſociation* in the County of *Down*, the *Seventh* of *January*, 1688. who ſent an Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, dated at *Hilsborough* the 19th of *January*, 1688. which his Highneſs anſwered by his Letter from *St. James's*, dated the *Tenth* of *February*, 1688. and ſent by Captain *Leighton*, with his Commiſſions to them for *Colonels*, *Captains*, and *Subalterns*.

But this is a Digreſſion: It is only to ſhew you that no man was more obnoxious to the *Iriſh*, and to the Government, than this Mr. *Hawkins*; in ſo much that he was one of the *Ten* excepted from Pardon in the Proclamation before-mentioned, of the Seventh of *March*, 1688.

This Gentleman's Lady, being taken, among many others, making her Eſcape, at *Donoghadee*, inſtead of being Plundered, was civilly treated, and ſuffered to go off to Sea, not only her ſelf, but with all her Goods, Furniture, *&c.* and when ſhe offered her Coach as a Preſent to Major *Colaghon*, he refuſed it, and did not take the Worth of a Penny from her.

I could give you many more Inſtances which I have heard. But we muſt not make too great Digreſſions: I am afraid of being tedious.

Let us Return to our Author's bloody Maſſacre of the Proteſtants in the County of *Down*, by Major-General *Buchan*, which was the Subject from whence we have been carried thus far.

It was one of this Author's unfortunate days, that he light upon Major-General *Buchan* to make the *Maſacre* in cold Blood, *&c.* For all that know that Gentleman, know him to be a Soldier, and incapable of any ſuch Brutality. It is ſo far from it, that the common Voice of all the *Iriſh Proteſtants* does proclaim how much they owe to Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*, to this Major-General

neral *Buchan*, and to Major-General *Maxwell*, for their great Care, and even Generosity to the Protestants in *Ulster*; though what they did, (even that of Major-General *Maxwel*'s preserving *Belfast* and all the Country, when *Schomberg* Landed) was, as themselves own, by King *James*'s express Order.

But he must have no share of the Thanks, even by those *Protestants*, who extol his Officers for nothing but duly executing his Orders.

The *Irish* were as much offended on the other hand against these Three *Scots* Generals, for their Partiality, as they called it, to their own Countrymen, tho' in Rebellion; because they restrained the *Irish*, by King *James*'s particular Order, from using any Violence towards the *Protestants*.

And the *Protestants* did loudly curse *Hunter* for the Mischief he had brought upon them; but laid no blame upon Major-General *Buchan* or his Army. On the contrary they do to this day acknowledge, That they were dealt with much more favourably than they could have expected, considering the Provocations they had given.

It will be needless to make Application of all these Passages in the County of *Down*, to that Representation which this Author gives of them.

The thing shews it self; and I have resolved to forbear all angry Words: *Reason*, not *Passion*, gives a true *Conviction*, and the severest *Reproof* to all Falshood and Insincerity.

Let the Reader judge from what has been said, whether these *Protestants* in the County of *Down* proceeded no farther (as this Author confidently avers) than to complain to the Officers of King *James*'s Army, and to demand Redress of their Grievances from them? And whether they were Massacred in cold Blood, without Resistance, suspecting no such matter, *&c.*

And let us go on to another Instance this Author produces against King *James*.

Page

Pag. 176. he Charges King *James* with breach of Articles, to the Gentlemen in the Fort of *Culmore*, who were disarm'd, and strip'd, *&c.*

I have spoke with some Gentlemen, who were then in that Fort, upon its Surrender, who say; that this is absolutely false; for that they were used with Humanity by K. J. and that he preserv'd the Articles to that Degree, as to give the Chief of them his Pass to go for *England*, when it was desired pursuant to the Articles

So wicked, as well as ignorant, is that Assertion of this Authors, *p.* 178. *That amongst all the Articles into which K.* J. *or his Officers entred, they never kept any to the Protestants.*

How often have I heard the *Irish Protestants* here speak with Honour and Commendation of *Sarsfield*'s punctual observation of his Articles, when he took *Sligo?* and several other instances. And I have heard the most Zealous among them for this Government complain much, that the Articles made with *Carrickfergus* by *Schomberg*, were not as punctually observ'd. But they laid the fault upon the Souldiers, who were their Conduct, who before they were a Mile from the Town, saw the Country people plunder and strip them; and some say, the Souldiers too put to their hand: But however there were none punished for this. And the *Irish* do grievously complain, That Major *Mac-Swiney*, and several other Officers of the Garrison of *Carrick-fergus* were kept prisoners contrary to the Capitulations sign'd by *Mareshal Schomberg* himself.

And that the sick and wounded Officers and Souldiers in *Drogheda*, who, upon its Surrender after the *Boyn*, were, by the Capitulations, to be taken care of, and sent with passes to their own Army, as they recovered their Health, were not only neglected, and might have starved, but for the Charity of some poor people of their own Nation, who sold their Beds and Cloaths to Relieve them, but were kept as prisoners after they Recovered, contrary to the Capitulations.

And that upon the Surrender of *Cork*, the *Iriſh* Army, tho' Priſoners of War, were, by the Conditions, to be well uſed, notwithſtanding of which, they ſay, that the General narrowly eſcaped being Murthered by the Inhabitants, and had no Juſtice done him, nor any Satisfaction, upon his Complaint to the *Engliſh* General. That ſeveral of the Earl of *Clankerty*'s Servants were forced from him, to ſerve Major General———

And that the Garriſon, after laying down their Arms, were *Stripped*, and Marched to a Marſhy wet ground, where they were kept with Guards *four* or *five* days, and not being Suſtained, were forced through Hungar, to Eat dead Horſes that lay about them, and ſeveral of them Dyed for Want. That when they were Removed thence, they were ſo crowded in Jails, Houſes, and Churches, that they could not all lye down at once, and had nothing but the bare Floor to lye on, where, for want of Suſtenance, and lying in their own Excrements, with dead Carcaſſes, lying whole Weeks in the ſame place with them, cauſed ſuch infection, that they Dyed in great Numbers Daily.

And that the *Roman Catholick Inhabitants*, tho' promis'd Safty and Protection, had their Goods Seized, and themſelves Stripped, and turned out of Town ſoon after.

That in *December* 1690. one Captain *Lawder*, of Collonel *Hales*'s Regiment, being ordered, with a Lieutenant, Enſigne, and *Fifty* men to Guard about *Two Hundred* of the *Cork* Priſoners to *Clonmell*, as they fainted on the way, thro' the 'bovefaid bad Uſage, Shot them, to the number of *Sixteen*, between *Cork* and *Clonmell*: That Major General *Dorington*, did demand Juſtice againſt this Officer, from General *Ginckle*: But that *Lawder* has a Pardon for the Murder, and is ſtill continued in his Poſt.

That after being entire Maſters of *Athlone*, they Killed, in cold Blood, an *Hundred* men in the Caſtle, and a little Out-Work on the River.

And at *Aghram*, above *Two Thouſand* who threw down their Arms, and asked Quarter, after the *Engliſh* were abſolute-

absolutely Masters of the Field: and that several, who had Quarters given them, were after Killed in cold Blood, in which Number were the Lord *Galway*, and Collonel *Charles Moore*. And this is no Secret, the Major of Monsieur *Epingham*'s Dragoons owned to Major General *Dorington*, That the Lord *Galway* was Killed after Quarter, and the Battle over. More Vouchers might be produced, if needful.

They say further, that those who surviv'd, found no Treatment like Prisoners of War, tho' General *Ginckle* engaged his Word and Honour for it, to Major General *Dorington*, in the Presonce of the Prince de *Wertenberg*, Mounsieur Marquess *de la Foreſt*, and other general Officers: And own'd the good Usage their Prisoners had at *Limerick*, and other of King *James*'s Garisons, and promised that his Prisoners should be as well Treated by K. *W.* And these promises he reiterated *three* days after one another, to Major General *Dorington*, after the Battle of *Aghram*.

The Breach of this publick Faith to the ordinary and meaner sort, these *Irish* say is Notorious to all that live in that Country, and will not be Denied by the *Protestants* themselves: But what is more extraordinary, That these general Officers, and others, who are now in the *Tower*, are Metamorphos'd from Prisoners of *War*, to Prisoners of *State*, and Committed for *High Treason*; which they say, General *Ginckle* himself did acknowledge to the said Prisoners at the *Tower*, to be contrary to his Promise, and that he endeavoured to do them all the Service he could, but not with the Success he desired. By which these Gentlemen say, they have Discovered what will be very New, and Surprizing to old Soldiers, and Men of Honour, *viz.* That Princes are not obliged to make good their Generals Promises, tho' such Promises do not Exceed the Customs of War, and (hitherto) Law of Nations.

Add to this the sending many *Hundreds* of these poor *Irish* Prisoners at a time into *Lambay* (a waste Desart Island in the Sea near *Dublin*) where their Allowance, they say, for *four* Days, might, without Excess, be Eat

at a Meal, and being thus out of the reach of their Friends, who could not come at them, to give them any Charity, they Dyed there miſerably in heaps. They Complain too, that a great many poor Men were forced from their Families, to ſwell up the Number of Priſoners, who were reported to be Sold to the *Jew*, who Furniſhed K. *W.*'s Army with Bread: But the vaſt Number of poor harmleſs *Natives*, who were daily Kill'd up and down the Fields, as they were following their Labour, or taken out of their Beds and Hanged, or Shot immediately for *Rapparees*; is a moſt Terrible Scandel to the *Government*, which the *Proteſtants* themſelves do Loudly Atteſt; and many of the Country Gentlemen, as likewiſe ſeveral Officers, even of K. *W.*'s Army, who had more Bowels or Juſtice than the reſt, did Abhor to ſee what ſmall Evidence, or even Preſumption was thought ſufficient to Condemn men for *Rapparees*, and what ſport they made to Hang up poor *Iriſh* Pnople by Dozens, almoſt without pains to Examine them; they hardly thought them *Humane Kind!* And ſince the Peace, have firſt Robbed them, tho' under the Capitulations of *Limerick*, and then ſuffered them to Starve in Ditches, and Eat dead Horſes in the High-way, which I have been told by many *Proteſtant* Gentlemen, who have ſeen it, and extreamly Lamented it, to ſee Men Diveſted of common Mercy or Compaſſion.

Laſtly, The *Iriſh* do Complain of Breach of publick Faith to thoſe who Submitted to the Government upon K. *W.*'s repeated Declarations, notwithſtanding of which, they are Out-law'd, and Proſecuted, (ſee the Reſolution of the Judges at *Dublin*, Numb. 7. *Appendix*.)

And that by Diſarming of Gentlemen, contrary to the Articles of *Limerick*, taking away their Fowling Guns, as well as Riding Arms, both Swords and piſtols, with ſuch Difficulties, and Conditions required to make their Right of being Included in the Capitulations appear, and their open grudging and repining, to make good one Article, ſaying openly, That they will have them Revers'd in *Parliament*: Beſides, the Country *Militia* falling

falling upon, and Robbing the poor *Irish*, who came out of *Limerick*, and the reſt of K. *James*'s Quarters, and by many other Indications they have made it known, what Security is to be expected from their Protections; and whether K. *James*'s or K. *William*'s Protections were beſt obſerv'd. The Truth is, there are none of the *Proteſtants* that belong to the *North* of *Ireland*, that I have met with, but do confeſs, That the *Iriſh*, while among them in Summer 89. kept their Protections better to the *Proteſtants*, than the *Proteſtants* have kept theirs to them ſince.

Nay, one, who was of conſiderable Poſt there at that time, told me in theſe words: *The Truth is*, ſaid he, *it was in the Power of their Gentlemen and Officers to make their Protections be obſerved; but that is not in our Power: For our Country Folks will not be reſtrained from falling upon the* Iriſh. Doctor *Gorges* Letter in the *Appendix* vouches this.

But to come to an end of this Head, of this Authors manner of Repreſenting K. *J.* he ſayes, cap. 3. §. 18. n. 11. p. 213. *That K. J. appeared moſt zealous to have the Church of* Wexford, (*which had been ſeized by the Popiſh Clergy*) *Reſtored to the* Proteſtants, *and expreſſed himſelf with more paſſion than was uſual, that he would be obey'd, and turned out the Major of* Wexford *for not Reſtoring the Church when commanded*: Notwithſtanding, our Author tells, that the *Clergy* would not obey him. Here the King has wicked *Miniſters*, but *Himſelf* is Good and Kind to the *Proteſtants*.

But cap. 3. §. 6. n. 1. p. 82. he is ſo mad againſt them, That for the Advancement of Popery, *He deſign'd the Ruine of Trade in all his Kingdoms*. But p. 83. n. 2. *Whatever be ſaid of the general Deſign, it is certain* (ſayes the Author) *K.* James *Ruined the Trade of* Ireland *in proſecution of his purpoſe of Deſtroying the Proteſtants there.*

Now comes a Myſtery, for p. 87. n. 8. he ſayes, *That K.* James *went a great way in deſtroying the Trade of the* Roman-Catholicks *alſo; and left the moſt conſiderable* Roman-Catholick *Traders in* Ireland, *without Eſtates*

or Credit to follow their Trade, or Anſwer their Correſpondents abroad.

Why? What is the matter now? Theſe were the Citizens chiefly of *Gallway*, who had purchaſed Eſtates under the *Acts of Settlement*.

This ſeems as if he had gone upon a principle of Juſtice, to Ruine their own moſt Conſiderable Traders, where-ever they thought their Title unjuſt.

But if they made not Juſtice their Rule, which our Author ſuppoſes, then, Why might they not have Excepted their own Merchants, and Purchaſers by particular *Proviſo*'s, or given them Reprizals out of the *Proteſtant* Forfeited Eſtates?

Of K. *James* letting the *Engliſh Fleet* Decay.

But I ſtay not with this. K *James*, ſayes our Author, p. 82. *purpoſely let the Ships of* England *Decay and Rot, that the* French *might grow great at Sea, and Deſtroy the Trade of the* Engliſh. Here is a piece of politicks of our Authors Refining: What was the Deſign of this? *To humble his Subjects!* ſayes the Author. This was a deep plot! But would not this *Humble himſelf too?* Yes, as I told you before, our Author ſayes, p. 45. *It was manifeſt that he was content to be a Vaſſal to* France.

A delicate Receit to make himſelf Great and Arbitrary! *If we conſider the Condition*, ſayes the Au- p. 82. *in which their preſent* Majeſties *found the* Engliſh *Fleet, the thing will not want probability.* This was a perilous Argument. Suppoſe many Ships had been Loſt and Decayed, might it not be by misfortunes or neglect? There came a Liſt to the *Parliament* laſt year, of above *Thirty* Men of War, Loſt, and *Eight* diſabled, by ſeveral misfortunes, ſince the preſent Revolution, annexed, n. 12. *Appendix*; will any ſay this was done on purpoſe to let the *Dutch*, for example, grow great at Sea, *And deſtroy the Trade of the* Engliſh? What would ſuch a Malicious *Obſervator* deſerve? And above *One Thouſand* Merchant Men have been taken by the *French*, the Loſs ſeveral *Millions*, during the preſent War: As appears in the Petition of ſome of the Merchants of *London*, preſented to Queen *Mary* her

her ſelf, and after to her in Council by ſome of the ſaid Merchants laſt *October*, 92. with ſeveral other Grievances, and Impoſitions upon them by the *Government*, to the Ruine of their Trade, as Preſſing their Seamen out of their Ships, obliging them to give Bonds, to go to ſuch Ports, and no other, Embargo's, *&c.*

Since the Fleet have come in this *Winter* 92. there were printed Liſts, which were ſent to the *Admiralty-Office*, and to the ſeveral Captains, with the Names of the Men who have Deſerted their *Majeſties* Service (as the Liſts ſpeak) out of the ſeveral Men of War which came in. That printed Sheet which I ſaw, was fill'd with the Deſerters of *two* Ships only, *viz.* The *Royal William*, and the St. *Andrew*. I took the pains to Reckon over the Mens Names, and there were Deſerters from the *Royal William*, *two hundred ninety one*, and from the St. *Andrew*, *three hundred forty nine* men; both make *ſix hundred* and *forty*.

Now our Authors Logick would infer, *Firſt*, What Numbers may we ſuppoſe have Deſerted, and how many would Deſert, if they had opportunity, out of the whole Fleet? *Secondly*, That theſe men are not paid, are very ill uſed, or otherwiſe Diſaffected to the Government. *Thirdly*, That K. *W.* did this on purpoſe, for the aboveſaid Reaſon, *&c.* What Stop can there be to *Malice* and *Invention?* This Author has not produced ſo plauſible Reaſons even as theſe for K. *J.*'s Deſign to Deſtroy the *Engliſh* Fleet; yet he Avers it poſitively, and Builds upon it.

But after all, Does our Author know very well, how K. *J.* left the *Fleet?* or how he minded the Trade of the Nation? we live here where we have reaſon to know better than this Author in *Ireland*. And we know, that among all K. *J.*'s Faults, this was never reckoned one. No King of *England* ever minded the Affairs of the *Fleet*, and the Encouragement of *Trade*, ſo much as King *James*; witneſs the noble Store-Houſes he built at *Chattam*, and other *Ports*, ſuch as *England* never ſaw the like: Nor were the Magazines and Stores ever better provided, than when K. *James* left them, for which

I refer you and this Author to the Worthy Mr. *Pepys*, Secretary to the *Admiralty*, his *Memoires touching the Royal Navy*, printed here in the Year 1690. Of which I have put a ſhort Abſtract in the *Appendix*, n. 11. for their benefit who have not his book: As likewiſe Sir *Peter Petts* Speech, and the *Seamens Addreſs* to King *J.* By all which it will appear how perfectly groundleſs this Accuſation of our Authors is againſt King *James*. I remember it was ſtuffed into ſome *News Letters*, about that time, (*for a certain Reaſon*) and our Author ſends it over to us, now as a great Diſcovery. He ſayes, ſome body told him ſo, but he tells not who they were: But he has eaſed his Spleen, and Diſcovered his poor Intelligence, That his Reader may duely Weigh and Conſider, upon what ſolid and ſure Grounds he ſets down all his *Matters of Fact*, and Conſequently what Regard is to be paid to them.

This Author had ſhewn himſelf a better Politician, and Hiſtorian, if he had Turn'd this Charge againſt King *James*, as I have heard ſeveral, and in good earneſt, urge it as a thing of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Liberties of *England*, and was with ſome men not the leaſt Objection againſt King *James*'s Reign, *viz.* That he was ſo good a Husband of his money, that he was able to ſpare ſuch vaſt ſumms to the *Navy*, and many other Works for the publick; yet not Impoſe or Demand any Supply from his Subjects, who grew Rich in Trade, beyond the Example of former Reigns: And they ſaw it viſibly proceed from his great Care and Application to *Maritime Affairs*, beyond any of his *Predeceſſors*. This, ſay theſe *Politicians*, would have made him over popular; and put him out of the power of *Parliaments*, for he would have wanted no money; and by ſhewing his people, that his Greatneſs made them Live without Taxes (which their many years Experience had told them alwayes did attend the Return of *Parliaments*) It would have been a Dangerous Temptation to them to have wiſht him *Abſolute*, while it kept them Rich, and Free from Taxes. And, had not *Popery* been in the caſe, he might have bid fairer for *Arbitrarineſs* in this method,

thod, than by that this Author has found out, of letting the *Engliſh* Fleet decay, on purpoſe that he might become a Vaſſal to *France*.

Since I wrote this, I met, in the *Third Edition* of this Authors Book, c. 3. §. 6 n. 1. p. 93 a *Nota Bene* in the Margent, in theſe words, *viz. N. B. The Author living in another Kingdom, and not knowing how much had been expended on the* Engliſh *Navy, towards the end of King* James's *Reign, was led into this Inference by hearing that the then Prince of* Orange *found no Oppoſition at Sea, when he came for* England. *But the preceding Diſcourſes of King* James, *and his Friends in* Ireland *are exactly Related, and might purpoſely be Deſign'd, to encourage the* Iriſh *Nation into the Facility of Invading* England, *nothing being, at that time, more univerſally talk'd of, or reſolved by them.*

Thus the *N. B.* And let us Mark it well: It is a *Recantation* of what he had ſaid of K. *James*'s letting the *Engliſh Fleet* Decay, *&c.*

By this he would induce his Reader to Believe, That this was the only *Erratum* of his whole Book, and that he was ready to own it, as ſoon as Convinc'd: Whereby he ſettles a good Opinion of his own Integrity, and Ingenuity: And at the ſame time, Confirms the Truth of all the other *Matters of Fact*, in his Book; becauſe it is to be ſuppos'd, That if he could have found any other Miſtakes in his Book, he would have Rectified them, as well as this.

Which if it be true, we muſt have more *N. B.*'s in his next *Edition*, after his ſeeing this *Anſwer*, or otherwiſe he muſt *Confute* the *Matters of Fact* I have ſet down; upon which I do promiſe to *Confeſs* and *Amend* my *Errors*, as freely as I expect the like from him.

He gives, for his Excuſe, his *Living in another Kingdom*. This, Good Sir, will invalidat, not only Great Part, and the moſt *Beauiſh* of your Book, but of your Famous *Thanksgiving Sermon*, before-mentioned, where you play your *Politicks* upon the moſt private *Intrigues* of moſt of the *States* and *Princes* in *Europe*, and tell

which *Prince* is to be *Wheedled*, which *Frighted*, which brought under *Pupillage*, what *Queen* to be made *Barren*, what *Country* to be *Bomb'd*, what *Bought*, what *Sold*, and what *Drown'd!* And you were farther from all these than from *England*, and these Designs were harder to be known, than the publick Condition of our own *Fleet*, which any one may know that pleases, the *Lists* of them being commonly Printed.

In the next place, Since, as you now Confess, you did not know the State of the *Navy*, when K. *James* left it; How come you to be so positive in it in your Book? Must not we believe, by this instance, That you are capable of Asserting very positively, what you know very little of?

But this being a Falshood so notoriously known in *England*, you thought, by Confessing that, to Lull them Asleep to inquire no farther into what was done in *Ireland*.

Your very Confession argues your Guilt, and shews it came not from a clear Conversion of your *Conscience*: For you do it by halves, and unwillingly. You are loath to Allow K. *James* any Credit, or as little as you can, in his Care of the *Navy*. *First*, You do not call it his Act, only you say, that you knew not *Of the Money had been expended on the* English Navy, *towards the end of* K. James's *Reign*. This might have been expended by *Parliament*, and little of the Credit come to K. *James*. Whereas in Sir *Peter Petts* Speech, n. 10. *Appendix*, and other Vouchers, you will see, That K. *James* expended *Millions*, out of his *own Pocket*, upon the *Navy*. Then you say in the *Latter End* of K. *James*'s Regin, *Innuendo*, as if he had not minded the *Navy* from the Beginning of his Reign. The contrary to which, you will see in the short Abstract of Mr. *Pepys*'s Account of the *Navy*, n. 11. *Appendix*. And no doubt, your *Informer* could have told you this, as well as the rest, if you had had a mind to be inform'd.

But the Reason you give of your former Mistake, is beyond all this. You say, *You were led into this Inference* (viz. Of K. *James*'s letting the *English Fleet* Decay,

say, on purpose to Ruine the Trade of *England*, that the *French* might grow Great at Sea) *by hearing that the then Prince of* Orange *found no Opposition at Sea, when he came for* England.

Could there be no other Reason why the Prince of *Orange* found no Opposition at Sea, but K. *James*'s purposely letting the Ships of *England* Decay, *&c?*

What if the Prince of *Orange* missed the *English* Fleet? which was the Case: He found no Opposition at *Salisbury* neither. Our Author might hence as well infer, that K. *James* purposely let all the *Pikes* and *Guns* in *England* Rot and Rust, *&c!*

Are these Inferences fit for a Bishop, upon his serious Repentance for his publick Breach of the *Ninth Command*, and *Slandering* the Foot-steps of GOD's *Anointed!* And yet, in the same Breath, continuing to do it still again, in Malice, that grows *Ridiculous* with its Rage: For in the next words, after his Confessing his Mistake, he would have you believe, that K. *James* did own this *Lye* against himself.

But the preceding Discourses of K. James——(sayes the Author) *are exactly Related.* What were these Discourses? You have it told in his Book, in the same place where his *Recantation* is, *viz.* c. 3. §. 6. n. 1. Where he tells *How many* Roman Catholicks, *who pretended to know his* (K. James's) *mind, confidently affirmed, That he purposely let the Ships of* England *Decay and Rot, that the* French *might grow Great at Sea, and Destroy the Trade of the* English — *And* (sayes the Author) *the King himself could not sometimes forbear words to the same purpose,* his

Now, this the Author, even in Penitentials, Affirms to be *Exactly Related.* And, no doubt, he must think his Stock of Credit very great, that, upon his bare Word, we should believe so very improbable a Story, as that K. *James* should himself tell so great a Lye against himself, to render himself the most Odious to *England*, that could possibly be Contrived: All the Aspertions, which his Enemies cast upon Him, put together, would not *Blacken* him so much, in the Eyes of

English-men, as such a Design to Ruin their Trade, on purpose to let the *French* get it.

And indeed it must raise a very strange *Idea* of him to all People in the World; that a King could have so much ill Nature, so much Treachery, as to Ruin and Betray his own *People*, who were then very kind to him, on purpose to bring them into the Power of their Enemies; and that he should be transported with such an implacable Malice against them, as to be content to Ruin himself, to be Revenged on them, to make himself a Vassal to *France*, that they might become *French* Slaves: Which our Author says is *Evident*, as I have before Quoted him.

And that a King should be so fond of this Character, as to Invent Lyes against himself, on purpose to have it believed!

And to harden the Hearts of all *English-men* against Him, at the same time that He was Courting them; and as Dr. *Gorges*'s Letter tells us, spoke the kindest Things of them, upon all Occasions, and as this Author, in several places of this Book, that He Reckoned much upon His Friends in *England!*

And (c. 3. near the end of §. 13.) that the *Irish Papists* Refrained from Massacring the *Protestants* in *Ireland*, lest *It should shock many of their Friends in* England *and* Scotland, *from whom they expected Great Matters.* And that K. *James depended on some* Protestants *in* England, *for Succour and Assistance, rather more than on the* Roman Catholicks, *&c.*

Judge then how probable it is that K. *James* should Report such things of himself, as He knew must Disgust all these, and indeed all Honest Men?

But the Author finds a Reason for it. *It was*, says he, in his loose Recantation, *to incourage the* Irish *Nation into the Facility of Invading* England.

And was there no other way to do it, but for King *James* to tell so Scandalous a Lye of himself? And which my Lord *Tyrconnel*, and many others of the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry, besides all the *English* knew to be false?

The

The chief Encouragement they had to come to *England*, was what our Author tells, the Friends they supposed they had especially the *Protestants*, in *England* and *Scotland*.

To whom this Account of King *James*, especially from his own Mouth, would have been a strange sort of a Recommendation.

But if that thing in which K. *James* was most to be admired, and took greatest Pains, and which was most Visible. (*viz.* his care of the *Navy*) can by this Author's Art, be thus turn'd into the Greatest, and most Invidious Objection against him, what fair Representation of K. *James* can be expected from such an Observator as as this? Or what Credit to any thing he has said? Who would have you believe him, because he takes God to Witness of his Sincere Representing K. *James* and his Party in this Book: And even where he must Confess his Error, Repents, as you have seen.

But we have been too long upon this. Pray God this Author's Repentance for this pretended Repentance and all other his Sins may be more sincere and hearty before he Dye. And particularly that God may give him Grace to Repent Sincerely, and Confess Honestly all the Errors, Willful, or Malicious Representations in this Book of his, with which I now proceed.

C. 3. §. 12. p. 148. n. 6. He Reflects upon K. *James*'s Sincerity, who in his Answer to the Petition of the Lords for a Parliament in *England*, presented 17. *Nov.* 88. gave it as one Reason why he could not Comply, "because it was Impossible, whilst part of "the Kingdom was in the Enemies Hands to have a "Free Parliament. Thus he; and to make you believe him very exact, he quotes the Kings Answer in the Margent, But on purpose leaves out those Words, which would shew the Inference he makes from it to be very Inconsequential: his Inference is, *That the same Impossibility lay on him* (K. James) *against holding a Parliament in* Ireland.

The King's Words quoted in his Margent are these; *How is it possible a Parliament should be Free, in all its*

Circumſtances, whilſt an Enemy is in the Kingdom? There are but a very few Words more in that Anſwer, which are theſe. *And can make a Return of near a Hundred Voices.* Theſe this Author leaves out. Was it for the length do you think? No, it would have quite Ruined his Plot, of making a Parallel 'twixt the Reaſons for K. *James*'s holding a Parliament in *England* 17. *Nov.* 88. and in *Ireland*, *May* 89. viz. *That there was an Enemy in the Kingdom*, which is indeed no reaſon, and none of the Reaſon the King gave. But ſuch an Enemy as can make a Return of *near a Hundred Voices*, would indeed hinder the Freedom of a Parliament, in all its Circumſtances. Now let us ſee how many Voices the Enemy could Return in *Ireland*, not one but of two *Burroughs*, that is *Derry* and *Enneskillen*, all the other *Burroughs*, and all the *Countys* in the Kingdom were in the Kings Hands. Now let our Author Judge of his Parallel, and of his Ingenuity, in Miſquoting the King's Anſwer. For he that does not tell the whole Truth that is Material, is a Falſe-witneſs. He ſays p. 152. *Several Corporations had no Repreſentatives, becauſe they were in the Enemies Hands.* And yet the whole Number is but *two* as abovesaid. But he thought the Word *ſeveral* would carry more in the Reading.

Add to this the difference there is 'twixt a *Forreign* Enemy, being in the Country, and the *Inſurrection* of the *Subjects*. A Subject that Rebels, and will not Obey the King's Summons to Attend him in *Parliament*, is a different Caſe from his being under a *Forreign* Power, that will not let him come. In the firſt Caſe, he has forfeited his Right to Sit in Parliament; and there is no reaſon that there ſhould not be a Parliament, becauſe he will not come. But in the other Caſe, it cannot be a *Free* and *Full* Parliament, where ſo many *Members* are under a Forreign Power. But our Author has protеſted before GOD, That he has not *Aggravated* nor *Miſrepreſented* any Thing, and therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, That it was only to Save himſelf the pains of Writing, or his Reader of viewing theſe *eight* words, which

which he leaves out in the Kings Answer to the Lords; and of the *four* Words *ut Colonias ibi faciat*, which he forgot in his Quotation out of *Grotius*, of which I made mention before; Tho' it is plain that both these Ommissions do quite alter the Sence of the Words our Author quotes, against that Interpretation which he would put upon them. And therefore it must be confest that they were very *Materially*, and if I were not awed by this Authors serious appeal to God, I should have said *Designedly* omitted by this Author, to *Misrepresent* the Sence of both these Quotations, and for an *Aggravation* against K. *James*: But for the present I shall only say this, That where this Author seems most Exact, and sets his Quotations, as you would think, Verbatim in the Margent, that you might suspect nothing, as he does in these two Quotations of *Grotius* and K. *James*'s Answer to the Lords, there you are chiefly to suspect, and you must stand upon your Guard.

C. 1, n. 6. He brings another Quotation out of *Grotius, de Jure*, &c; l. 2. c. 25. n. 8. to show, That *Tho' Subjects might not take Arms Lawfully, even in the extreamest necessity— it would not follow from thence, that others might not take Arms in their behalf.* I know no No body that sayes it would follow *from thence*. But as to his Quotation; *Grotius* sayes in the very same place: That this pretence of Helping others, has, in all Ages, been made use of, to colour their Designs, who intend to Invade their Neighbors Right, and that meer Possession does not give Right; for that there are *Pirats* and *Robbers* who get things by Force.

Scimus quidem ex Veterib. Novisq; Historiis alieni Cupiditatem hos sibi quærere obtentus, sed non ideo statim Jus esse desinit si quid a malis Usurpatur: Navigant & Piratæ, ferro utuntur & Latrones.

All this the Author has wisely left out of his Quotation, it would have spoiled the Design for which he brought it. But I cannot imagin to what end he sets down another Quotation out of the same Book. Lib. 2. c. 20. §. 40. Where he tells us, *That it is so much more Honourable to Avenge the Injuries done to another, than our selves, by how much there is less*

Danger, that the sense of another's Pain should make us exceed in exacting such Revenge, than of our own, or Byass our judgment. By this Rule, he that Avenges the Injuries done to another, must have no *By-Ends* of his own, no *Profit* or *Advantage* accrue to himself by such *Revenge*, else it may Byass his Judgment, and make him Exceed in this Revenge, *viz.* Instead of reducing his Neighbour to Reason, to Seize upon all he has for himself. How far this is Conducing to the End for which the Author produc'd it, I leave to himself to consider.

But I will make an end of this unsavory Subject, raking up the Absurdities and Contradictons into which a Mans Malice does betray him. I will give but one Instance more upon this Head. You have heard before now positively he asserted that the *Irish* were the *Aggressors* in the late Revolution, that not one Protestant Acted any thing in opposition to the Government, but only defending themselves against Robbers, nor Acted against these Robbers till actually Assaulted by them, &c. as you have it p. 109. Yet c. 3. §. 13. p. 178. (as it is printed, for it is wrong pag'd, it ought to be p. 186.) n. 4. He forgets this, and gives several Reasons, why the *Irish* papists *Were not the Aggressors*, as, *That they lay under the strictest Obligations not to begin Acts of Cruelty, from the Odium, and Ill Success their Murders in* Forty One *had. That the Protestants were extremly Cautious, not to give the least offence*, That it would hurt K. *James*'s Interest in *England*, &c.

The Matter is, he was here Answering the Objection: *That very few Protestants lost their Lives in* Ireland *under K. J.* This he Grants to be true, and it was a severe Objection. For to represent a Man as the most Bigotted, and Mercilcs Tyrant, that design'd no less than the Total Extirpation of one main part of his people (upon which Supposition this Author Grounds his whole Book) and then, when he has Subdu'd these Subjects of his, and Reduc'd them by Arms, after what to be sure, he thought Rebellion in them, and their Proclaiming another for their King, and some part of them still standing out in Arms against him; and those under his

his Power Betraying him all they could, and deſerting him every day, which gave him juſt Grounds to believe, that they wou'd all, as they did, joyn with the P. of *Orange* when he Landed.

Theſe were the Greateſt Provocations can be ſuppos'd, and the Faireſt Occaſion given to ſuch a Cruel Tyrant to wreck his Malice upon thoſe whom he deſign'd to Deſtroy; And yet after Repreſenting a Man to be ſuch a Bloody Monſter, to find that he Kills none of theſe People, would make any Body ſuſpect he had not been fairly Repreſented; and that he did not really deſign any ſuch thing as the Deſtruction of theſe People, at leaſt not altogether ſo fully as the *French* King reſolved the voiding the Edict of *Nants*, which this Author avers p. 19. I ſay, who would believe that K. *James* did as *fully determin our Ruin*, (as our Author there Words it) ſince he not only refuſed to do it, when it was in his Power, and he Apprehended ſo great Danger from them, but took Pains, and uſed his utmoſt Authority to keep back others from doing it, who were ready and zealous to have done it, and thought it their Intereſt to do it? Therefore in this Diſtreſs our Author was obliged to find out ſome other Reaſons for this, beſides K. *James*'s Clemency: And a Man of leſs Ingenuity than his cou'd make a ſhift to find Reaſons for any thing; There is no Subject upon which ſomething may not be ſaid *Pro* and *Con*, and ſo here our Author contrives Reaſons for this Clemency of K. *James*, which may not ſpoil that Bloody Character he had given of him, and he turns it upon *Policy*, *Intereſt*, not to Provoke *England*, *&c.* not foreſeeing that the ſame Intereſt muſt remain while ever he was King of *England*, and ſo ſecure the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, and diſapoint this Authors whole Book. And likewiſe he was under a Neceſſity of Contradicting what he had ſaid before, of making the *Iriſh* the Aſſaylants and Murderers, *&c.* becauſe he is now forced to give Reaſons why they were not ſo. You know who ſhould have good Memorys, and it is very difficult when a Cauſe has ſeveral and Contrary Aſpects,

it runs a Man ſome times to beſpatter that ſide which he means to Defend

This Author Wounds the Preſent Government in the Perſon of K. *James* and the Papiſts.

As truly I think has happened in the preſent Caſe: For if the moſt Malicious *Jacobite* had gone about to expoſe the preſent Government under the Name of K. *James*, he could not have done it more effectually than it is done in this Book. For Example, when *England* found the old Oath of *Supremacy* inconſiſtent with the *Preſent Settlement*, they wiſely abrogated it, and made a new one.

But *Ireland* could not do this, wanting a Parliament; And in the Acts of Parliament in *Ireland*, as in *England*, there is a Penalty upon the refuſal of this Oath, which the then Civil and Military Officers in *Ireland* avoided, by ordering it ſo, That that Oath ſhould not be tender'd to them, as it was not at firſt to the *Military*, nor to *all* the Civil Officers.

Now ſee how our Author expoſes this Practice in the Perſon of the Papiſts. c. 2. p. 38. §. 9. He tells of an Horrible Artifice the Papiſts had to avoid the Oath enjoin'd on all Officers Civil and Military by Act. 28. *Hen.* 8. c. 13. and 2. *Eliza.* c. 1. *viz.* "The Oath "was never tender'd to their new Officers, and Con- "ſequently, ſaid they, they never refuſed it, neither "are they lyable to the Penalties of the Act. This "was plainly againſt the deſign of the Statute, a play- "ing with the Words of it, and ſhewed us that Laws "are Inſufficient to ſecure us againſt ſuch Jeſuitical "Prevarications.

Thus our Author, not Conſidering that the ſame Jeſuitical Prevarications muſt, by his Rule, be Charged not only upon the *Iriſh Proteſtants*, as aboveſaid, but upon the *Roman Catholicks* in K. *Williams* Army, (who are many more in *England*, than K. *James* had in his Army here) and before the Alteration of the Oaths here by Act of Parliament; they muſt either have this ſame excuſe for avoiding theſe Oaths, or have none at all, p. 114. He ſays the Proteſtants in *Ireland* choſe *rather to ly in Jayl, than take ſome new invented Oath that was put to them without any Law to enjoin it.* Why would

would not this Author tell us what Oath this was? I am told that there was no new Oath Impoſed upon the Proteſtants in *Ireland* by K. *James*, and it is not very likely, where, as you have heard from the Sovereign of *Belfaſt*, and other Vouchers before Nam'd, K. *James* did not trouble the Proteſtants even with the Oaths enjoyn'd by Law.

But I have been told that in *Cork*, *Limerick*, and other Garriſons, upon the Sea Coaſt, where there were many *Proteſtants*, the Officers, without any Order from K. *James*, thought it reaſonable to take that Security of theſe *Proteſtants* (when they drew their Men out of theſe Garriſons into the Field, and when they were Alarm'd with the *Engliſh* Fleet) that theſe *Proteſtants* would not Joyn with their Enemies, but be true to K. *J.* And I am told likewiſe that none of theſe Proteſtants did refuſe it. But if they did, as this Author ſays, could they take it ill to be ſecured in Priſon, who, when the Enemy was hourly expected, refuſed to promiſe not to Joyn with them, or betray the Garriſon to them? Secondly, this is an ill Reaſon for what the Author told us before, *viz.* That K. *James* had not the leaſt Reaſon to ſuſpect or Diſarm the Proteſtants; and therefore this Author calls it *perfect Dragooning* of them, as bad as was done in *France*.

But this Author tells his own Reaſon why they would rather ly in Jayl than take this Oath, *viz.* Becauſe *there was not any Law to enjoyn it.* and they thought this a Violation of the Law; and therefore that they ought to Suffer any hardſhip rather than Comply with it. For if you break one Law, you may break all, *&c.*

Now this is perfect Wounding the preſent Government, and Condemning what the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, even this Author himſelf has done *viz.* Taking an Oath of Fidelity to K. *William* and Q. *Mary without any Law to enjoyn it.* That is, before this late Act of Parliament for abrogating the Old Oaths of Allegiance, and Impoſing the new Oaths in *Ireland*.

But here I must not be mistaken, for I am not of our Author's Opinion, that there was no Law to enjoyn these Oaths. I have shown before, That, by the Common Law, there is an *Oath of Allegiance*, may be required from the Subjects, which, for greater Satisfaction, I have set down in the *Appendix*, n. 13. as it was Taken to K. *J.* in *Ireland* by these *Protestants*, With some Authorities out of the Common Law, to Justify the Legality of it. But our Author, either knew not this, or was willing not to remember it; and would rather Wound the *present Government*, than miss such a *Blow*, and Reflection upon the Government of K. *J.* whether this was done in the full sincerity of his Heart, without Aggravation, or Misrepresenting against K. *J.* he has taken GOD to witness, and there we must leave it.

The 26. *Septemb.* 90. There Issued *three Proclamations* from the Lords Justices of *Ireland* (which I have hereunto Annex'd) one Banishing the Wives, Children, and Familys of all in Rebellion against their Majesties, or Kill'd in that Rebellion, and of all *Absentees*, out of all places under their Majesties Obedience, upon pain of being treated as Spys and Enemies; And all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, *&c.* and all the Militia were Commanded to search for them, and Seize them; and they were to be Transmitted from Sherriff to Sherriff, which was Executed accordingly, and Great Multitudes, especially of Women and Children, were by this means sent into the Enemies Quarters, which hastned that Famine was afterwards among them.

Another of these Proclamations Banish'd all Papists whatsoever, Ten Miles from the River *Shannon*, or any of their Majesties Frontier Garrisons, on the same penalty.

The Third forbids Sheltring, or Entertaining any *Irish* Papist whatsoever, but such as they know to be under their Majesties Obedience, or of Corresponding with them, upon pain of High-Treason.

And I have been told that there were many Proclamations of this Sort in that Kingdom, some forbiding them

them coming within ſo many Miles of any of Their Majeſties Garriſons, which were then very many; others Confining them to their Pariſhes and Citys, and not to ſtir above *five* Miles from their Dwelling Houſes, *&c.*

There were *two* Proclamations iſſued by K. *W.* and Q. *Mary* of the 17. *June* 90. Commanding all *Papiſts*, and *Reputed Papiſts*, forthwith to Depart from the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and from within *ten* Miles of the ſame. The *ſecond*, for the Confinement of *Popiſh Recuſants*, within *five* Miles of their Reſpective Dwellings. I will not trouble you with the Tranſcribing of theſe, for you have them in the *London* Gazzet, *Numb.* 2568.

And ſuch things are neceſſary in times of War. But our Author takes upon him to Condemn all this as a Breach of the Liberty of the Subjects, *&c. p.* 95. where he inveighs againſt a *Proclamation* of K. *J.*'s, Dated 26. *July* 89. which Confin'd all *Proteſtants* to their Pariſhes and Citys, as a very great Encroachment upon their Liberty, and a mighty *inconvenience to their Affairs*. [That was wiſely Obſerv'd]! And this is one of his Articles againſt K. *J.* which will ly equally againſt every King in the World, in time of War.

Of the like ſort is that *p.* 121. n. 6. That the *Iriſh* took *Free Quarters* *p.* 132. n. 3. "Aſſeſſing the *Pro-*"*teſtants* for maintaining their *Militia*, *p.* 178. n. 5. "making the penalty of their *Proclamations* for bringing "in Arms, *&c.* to be Death, *p.* 209. turning the *Pro-*"*teſtant Churches* into Lodging places; defacing and burn-"ing what ever was Combuſtible in them, *p.* 162. when "the Souldiers got into Houſes, under pretence of Gar-"riſoning them, they ſometimes burnt them, and al-"ways ſpoyl'd the Improvements. In every of which particulars, the *Proteſtant Army*, by many Degrees, out-did that of K. *J.* if any Credit is to be given to the *Iriſh Proteſtants* themſelves. And K. *William*, by his *Proclamation*, Dated at *Chapeliſard*, 31. *July* 90. for the *Papiſts* to bring in their Arms, makes the penalty, To be treated *as Traytors and Rebels*, and *abandon'd to the*

 diſcretion

discretion of his Soldiers, which you may see at large, n. 6. Appendix.

I do not Argue against this as too severe: There may be reason for severe threatning; for after all, the King may extend his Mercy as he thinks fit.

And this Author does not Alledge, that any Protestant in *Ireland* was put to Death by K. *James* for not bringing in his Arms: Nor will he say, that they did all bring in their Arms: But confesses, as you have heard above, that they kept so many as were sufficient *to have fought the* Irish, *and to have beat them too*. And sure some of these might have been found out if K. *James* had sought that Occasion to take away their lives. And this Author's Naming none of the Protestants, who were put to Death upon this Account, is first a Demonstration that there was none so put to Death, for this Author would have heard of it, and would not have mist telling it. And secondly, it is a great Vindication of K. *James*'s *Clemency*, that he did not take this Advantage against them.

But the use I have to make of it, upon the Head I am now treating, is, that this Author Wounds the present Government in the Person of K. *James*; For how could he more effectually Expose, and Arraign K. *William*'s Proclamation, making the Penalty of not bringing in Arms to be Death; than by making it one of the Instances of K. *James*'s *Tyranny* and *Illegal Oppression*, that he Issu'd a *Proclamation*, making the Penalty of not bringing in Arms to be Death? How could this Author have Expos'd K. *William* more? Or shewn his own partiality in this History of his, while he Condemns that in one, which he Justifys in another? Was there no *Favour or Affection to a Party* in this? He takes GOD to Witness there was not, of which we shall come to Discourse presently. But now we go on with the Subject in hand, *viz.* The Reflections this Author Casts upon the present Government, in his manner of Representing the Carriage of K. *James* towards the *Protestants* in *Ireland*. What he says, p. 130. n. 4. of the *Protestants* being forced to take out Protections,

tections, and pay for them, and then having them recall'd, and paying for new ones in some other Method, looks perfectly like *Lampooning* the present Government in *Ireland*, Who have forced all the *Irish* to take Protections, and pay so much for them, and then Recall them, and put it into other Hands to Grant new Protections, over and over again: In *March* 169⅞. All Protections were Recall'd, except those Granted by the General, and all required to take new Protections from the going Judges of Assize, at 12 Pence a piece; and I have heard that in one County *viz.* of *Meath* there were ten or twelve Thousand Protections given by the Judges. So that this was a Comfortable Circuit!

The reason for the often altering these *Protections* was given because they said that many *Irish* were kill'd with these *Protections* in their pockets, which argued the greatest Treachery in them, and that they took these *Protections* only to impose upon the Government.

But our Author vindicates them in all this, at least clears them from our Objecting it to them, while he tells us, *p.* 172. "That K. *J.* rail'd, on this occasion, "against *Protestants* in general, representing them as "false and perfidious; For, said he, many were kill'd "with my Protections in their pockets; not Conside-"ring (*Our Author goes on*) the Reflection was on his "own Party, against whom his Protection, as appear'd "by his own Confession, was no Security. And when "Men were thus Slaughter'd with his Approbation, not-"withstanding his *Protections* in their pockets, it was "but reasonable for such as surviv'd to think of some "other way of *Protecting* their Lives.

Thus our Author, and infers that they were kill'd with the King's Approbation, who were kill'd with his *Protections* in their pockets. This I have spoke to already. And the Consequence he draws from it, would Justify the *Irish*, who Survive to seek some other way of *Protecting* their Lives, than the present Government. Thus excellently does our Author argue!

Now Imagine he had such a Story as *Glencoe* to tell of any of King *James*'s Officers in *Ireland*, how easily cou'd he, by his Act, make it Reflect upon the King himself, and absolve all those *High-landers* from their Allegiance, and give them leave to Protect their Lives another way? O what Declamations we should have had of the Bloody *Irish*, *Cut-Throats*, *Massacrers*, *&c.*! And what use would he have made of their giving it under their Hands, that what they did was by the Kings Express Command, and none Punish'd for it! He would never have given K. *James* Liberty to Deny it, or make any Defence, but would have Represented to the Three Kingdoms what they were to Expect from him, who could give such Orders, exceeding in in Cruel Barbarity the Wild *Irish*, or *Tartars*. He would have made more of this, than of all the Storys he has Collected in his Book, if they were all true.

But his Zeal must be Commended. p. 206. n. 8. where he reckons, as a means of Destroying the Protestant Religion, the Debauchery and universal Corruption of Manners that then prevail'd. Take his own Words. p. 207. *The Perjuries in the Courts, the Robberys in the Country, the Lewd Practices in the Stews, the Oaths, Blasphemys, and Curses, in the Armys and Streets*, &c.

And these indeed are a means to Destroy, not only the Protestant, but any Christian Religion. I cannot wish (as I hear one did) that the *Irish* Army were more Guilty of this than the Protestant Army. But that these are Increas'd, beyond former Examples, in the Protestant Army, all of them that retain the least sense of Religion, do bemoan with Regret; but I have mentioned this already. I am sure it can be no good Religion, which is promoted by these Means, or suffers them, to Secure any Interest whatsoever. God does not need our *Vertue*, much less our *Vices* to help him to Govern the World. And he will not be serv'd by the Breach of his Commands. *Can we expect* (says Dr. *Burgh* in his Letter) *Sodom to destroy Babylon, or Debau-*

Deludatbery to deſtroy Popery? Our Enemy (ſays he) *Fights with the Principle of a Miſtaken Conſcience againſt us, we againſt the Conviction of our Principles againſt them.*

I might inlarge upon this Subject. But to returne to our Author. He ſpeaks with Juſt Indignation. p. 173. againſt General *Roſen*'s Stratagem of bringing the Proteſtants in that Country before the Walls of *Derry*, and to threaten to Deſtroy them all, if the City would not receive them, which would have brought a Famine into the Town, and forced them to Surrender. I need not take pains againſt the Barbarity of this deſign: For K. *James* expreſs'd his Juſt Reſentment of it, and Countermanded it upon the firſt notice. And in his Circular Letters to the Governors of Towns, and Officers Commanding in chief in the North, to whom theſe Orders of *Roſens* had come, he Commands them by no means to obey theſe Barbarous Orders of *Roſen*'s: And accordingly *Roſen*'s Orders for the Driving were not Executed in moſt places in the North. This I have from the Officers to whom theſe Orders were ſent; and from ſeveral Proteſtants who have ſeen them, and can produce them.

But our Author diſcovers his skill in War, when he ſays *that he never met with any thing like it in Hiſtory; nor do I believe*, ſays he, *it was ever Practis'd by any Nation, unleſs the* French *have uſed it in their late Wars.* Many inſtances might be given him of as Barbarous Exploits in War, particularly, that of Reducing places by Famine. But to ſpeak Impartially, Is not Starving a *County*, or a *Province*, as Barbarous as Starving a *City*? And was not Crowding all the *Iriſh* Men, Women, and Children over the River *Shannon* done on purpoſe to reduce them to Famine? And it had its effect, and many of them Dyed, and Women Miſcarried, and many were Starv'd in that *Driving* over the *Shannon*, inſomuch that ſome of the Proteſtant Officers, who were employed on that Expedition, expreſſed the greateſt Regret, to ſee ſuch Lamentable Spectacles, and were aſham'd of their Commiſſions. And thoſe

who were thus Driven, had King *William*'s Protections in their pockets.

¶ In expoſing theſe things, our Author ſhould take care not to Wound the Government, through the Sides of the *Iriſh*. But his Zeal carry'd him too far, where, in the Heads of his Diſcourſe, he makes this one, That when the Biſhop of *Meath* apply'd to King *James*, concerning this Driving, King *James*, he ſayes, excus'd *Roſen*: And when you turn to the Book, to ſee this made out, p. 174. All you find, is, that King *James* told the Biſhop, *That he had ſent Orders to ſtopt it, and if he* (Roſen) *had been his own Subject, he would have call'd him to Account for it.* This is a ſtrange way of excuſing him! But it ſhews how ſharp-ſighted this Author is in finding Faults. You may be ſure, by this, that none have eſcaped him. Nor can he ſpare them, even where it plainly Reflects upon the preſent Government, which he pretends to Complement.

But this is only by *Innuendos*. Tho' he has brought it ſo near, as to make the Application very eaſie.

This Author Renders the Kings *Prerogative* Hateful to the People: and Inclines them to a *Common Wealth.*

This is more pardonable than his plain and expreſs proclaiming War againſt K. *William* and Q. *Mary*. That is, Sounding an Alarum to the Nation, to beware of them, and watch them narrowly, as their greateſt Enemies.

He ſayes p. 4. That Certain and Infallible Deſtruction will be brought to *England*, as it was to *Rome*, and in a Great meaſure to *Florence*, if ever the *Prerogative* do ſwallow up the *Liberties* and *Priviledges* of the *Subject*, p. 77. That their chooſing their own *Repreſentatives*, is the only *Barrier* they have againſt *The Encroachments of their Governor*, p. 57. That it is the *Kingdoms money* that payes the Souldiers, p. 85. That *Abuſes in the Kingdom proceeded from the Long Diſuſe of Parliaments*, p. 133. n. 6. He would Limit that Prerogative of the Crown, of Coyning Money, and by his Quotation in the Margent, would take it quite away, giving the King no power *To change his Money, nor impair, nor inhanſe, nor make any Money, but of Silver, without the Aſſent of the Lords, and all the Commons.* Yet he cannot forget to

to have heard of *Leather* Money Coyn'd in *England*, and *paſt-board* in *Holland*.

Here he diſcovers what he would be at, To Depreſs the *Prerogative*, even to a *Common-Wealth*. And *this*, or *Arbitrary Monarchy*, muſt be the Conſequence of dividing the Intereſt of *King* and *People*, and ſetting them up to Fight againſt one another, to Watch and Guard againſt one another, as the Greateſt Enemies, that if one prevail, the other muſt be deſtroyed. *A Kingdom divided* —— Mat. 12. 25.

This is not altogether ſo pleaſant a proſpect as the *Paſſive-Obedience-Men* afford us, while they repreſent the *Prerogative* as the greateſt Safe-guard of the Rights and Priviledges of the People. And therefore to be Lov'd by the People, and kept Great, and Inviolable, as their Greateſt Security and Glory.

The Author's Concluſion & Proteſtation of his Sincerity.

It is now time to come to a Concluſion. If I have not tyred you, I am ſure I have my ſelf. I will therefore Cloſe this Diſcourſe with a ſmall Reflection upon this Authors Concluſion. p. 239. Wherein he proteſts before God, That he has not *Aggravated*, or *Miſ-repreſented* the Proceedings againſt us, out of Favour or Affection to a Party, *&c.*

By this he would ſeem as equal to the *Iriſh*, as to the *Engliſh*, to the *Papiſt*, as to the *Proteſtant*. For which I muſt Refer you to what has been already ſaid.

But if this had been his Principle, why would he lay ſuch Loads upon a *Popiſh* King, for chooſing to truſt *Papiſts* in his Army, and even to prefer them to the Proteſtants? Is it not the ſame reaſon, as for a *Proteſtant* Prince to deſire a *Proteſtant* Army? And if, in ſuch a Caſe, you could not find perſons ſo Qualify'd as you deſire, would you not take the beſt you could get, and give them time and opportunities farther to Accompliſh themſelves? This Author knows very well, this was King *James*'s Caſe with the *Iriſh*. That there was not a Gentleman among them, but was employ'd. My Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating*, in his Letter to Sir *John Temple*, 29. *Decemb.* 83. ſayes. The *Roman Catholick Nobility* and

Gentry of the Kingdom, are *Univerſally concerned in the preſent Army, and in that which is to be rais'd*, p. 351. of this Authors Book. But he (King *James*) was forc'd to take in the Scum likewiſe, to make up an Army. Yet this Author makes it one of the Heads of his Diſcourſe, p. 25. *The inſufficiency of the perſons Employ'd by King* James: And Improves that to an Argumnnt for his *Abdication*.

I am very ſenſible of the many ill Steps were made in K. *James*'s Government, and above all, of the Miſchievous Conſequence of the Lord *Tyrconnel*'s Adminiſtration; which, the moſt of any one thing, brought on the Misfortunes of his Maſter.

But when, by what means ſoever, things were brought to that paſs, that K. *James* was deſerted by *England*, and the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, no Man, in his Senſes, can blame him, for making uſe of the *Iriſh*, nor my Lord *Tyrconnel* for Arming, Liſting, Arraying them *&c. In doing whereof (conſidering the great Truſt repoſed in him) no man of Honour, or Moral Honeſty can truly blame him.* Says my Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating*, as inſerted by this Author. p. 349. And this Author knows very well that Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating*, was a firm *Proteſtant*, and a Man of Senſe.

And this Author does Confeſs. p. 101. n. 5. That theſe new made [redacted] were ſet on Foot, partly on the firſt Noiſe of the P. of *Orange*'s deſcent, and partly in the beginning of *Decem.* 88.

Now at this time to hinder K. *James* to raiſe an Army of *Iriſh* to aſſiſt him is the Argument our Author had undertaken, and for which he blackens K. *James* to the utmoſt. He ſays, p. 166. "That *with-* "*out any Neceſſity at all*, he (K. *James*) threw himſelf "upon theſe People, he Encourag'd them, he Armed "them, gave Commiſſions, *even to thoſe that had been* "*Torys*, *&c.* Some ſuch perhaps he might Employ, (I have known a High-way-Man an Officer in the Army in K. *Charles* II. time, and no Notice taken of it) but it was becauſe he could get no better, as is ſaid above. But to ſay he had *no Neceſſity at all* to raiſe

theſe

theſe Men, cannot have common Sence in it, unleſs this Author thinks, that at that time the *Proteſtants* of *Ireland*, would have Fought for K. *James* againſt the P. of *Orange*, and ſo that he had no need of the *Iriſh*. If that be our Authors meaning, I hope he will Explain himſelf. And likewiſe, whether he does not a little Aggravate the Caſe (which he proteſt before GOD he does not) when he aſſures us. p. 15. *That* K. *James did Proſecute the ſame, if not worſe Methods towards the Proteſtants in* Ireland, *than the K. of* France *did with the Hugonots in his Dominions.*

Why? Was there any *Dragooning* in *Ireland*, ſuch as we have heard of in *France?* Yes: Our Author tells us. C. 3. §. 8. n. 15. p. 112. *This was perfect Dragooning to the Proteſtants* ——— *Terrible Dragooning!* Pray what was this? It muſt raiſe a Diſmal Apprehenſion in the Reader, ſome Exquiſit Torture! *Proteſtant Bridles!* or ſome-thing like *Amboina! Parturiunt Montes.*—— The whole matter was *Diſarming* the Proteſtants in *Dublin.* 24. *Feb.* 88. But what Occaſion was there for this Diſarming? What Reaſon had the Government to be Apprehenſive of theſe Proteſtants? All the Proteſtants Generally in *Ulſter*, *Connoght*, and *Munſter*, in all *Ireland* (except *Dublin*, and other Parts of *Linſter*, whom the Lord Deputy kept in Awe, with what Forces he had) were then actually in Armes in Oppoſition to the Government, and had enter'd into *Aſſociations* to carry on their War.

But may be theſe Proteſtants in *Dublin* were more Loyal than the other Proteſtants of *Ireland.* What Reaſon had the Lord Deputy to Suppoſe that?

But this Author tells us in the ſame Section. p. 97. That they had a Plot to Seize my Lord Deputy himſelf, and the Caſtle of *Dublin*, with the Stores, Ammunition, *&c.*

But when was this? It was, ſays the Author, *when the News came that K.* James *had ſent Commiſſioners to Treat with the P. of* Orange. This was very early. And what if the *France* had *Accepted* of a Treaty?

How did they know but the King and Prince might have Agreed? But they were resolv'd to Anticipate all this: And not to wait even the Princes Commands. They were for Supererogation, and to shew Zeal *Extraordinary*.

But after all, if their Numbers were not Considerable in Proportion to the Kings Army, or if they were not well Arm'd, the Government might have over look'd their Rashness, and let them alone. In Answer to this, our Author tells in the same Place; *That they* (*K.* Jame's *Army*) *were but a Handful to the Protestants, there being Men and Arms Enough in* Dublin *alone, to have dealt with them.* And p. 111. That they (the Protestants) had Arms enough *to make the Papists Afraid, and to beat them too, if they had had a little Assistance and Encouragement of Authority to Attempt it.* And they knew how to Supply the want of Authority another way.

Now let any one Judge in the point of Reason. Is there a Man in his Senses, that had to do with these People, in the Circumstances they, and the rest of the Protestants of *Ireland* stood, but would have *Disarm'd* them if he could?

And for our Author to Equal this to the *French Dragooning*, is betraying of his Cause: It is rendring the whole Suspected. To Aggravate things beyond the Truth, does not make them more, but nothing at all. What Notion does this give us of the *French* Persecution? Had that King as much to say against the *Hugonots* as K. *James* had against the *Protestants* in *Ireland*? Did the *French* King use them no Worse than K. *James* did these Protestants? Our Author says, as above, that K. *James* used worse Methods, towards the *Protestants* of *Ireland*, than the King of *France* did with the *Hugonots*. If so Mounsieur *Claud* has mightily Misinform'd us in his Account of the Persecution of the *Hugonots* in *France*.

And since our Author will have this Comparison, because he could not think of another would Render K. *James* so Odious, I have a Curiosity to know his Opinion,

nion, as to the Cauſe of theſe *Hugonots*, viz. Whether their King's breaking the Edict of *Nants*, and uſing them as he did, was ſufficient to abſolve them from their Allegiance, and to ſet up a King of their own Religion, where-ever they could find him? I doubt not, but this Author will Anſwer in the Affirmative; and that it was nothing but want of Power kept them from *Abdicating* that King, who they thought had *Abdicated* the Government of them, by his ill uſage of them: And this will be a better Plea for the *French* King, to Rid himſelf of theſe ſort of People, than any I have yet heard offered for him.

But in this Compariſon 'twixt King *James*, and the *French* King, our Author makes King *James* the more wicked Man of the *Two*, uſing worſe Method with his Proteſtants, as you have heard. And in his Character of the *French* King, he gives him the Advantage over King *James*, with an *Innuendo-reflection* upon King *James* in this ſame place, p. 14. He reports the *French* King to be a *Merciful Man in his own Nature, and certainly*, ſayes he, *a mighty Zealot for his Honour.* As if King *James* were not ſo, indeed he was far from it, as this Author repreſents him.

You ſee to what a Height this Authors Zeal has carried him, when he will give ſo fair a Character, even of the *French* King, that he may thereby blacken K. *J.* the more.

And upon this Head, I hope no Man will take it ill, at leaſt to do Right to K. *James*, Would any Body deſire him to be worſe than the *French* King!

Therefore give me leave to ſay, (and in this I believe I ſhall have the Major part on my ſide) That if the *Hugonots* in *France*, had Invited a *Forreign Hugonot* Prince to enter *France* with an Army, had joyn'd with him, and Proclaim'd him for their King; and Forc'd K. *Lewis* to fly out of *France*; and afterward recovering part of his own, he ſhould reduce the *Hugonots* in *Brettaigne*, for example, and they, when they were come again under the Power of their Old Maſter, ſhould ſhew all the Signs of Diſloyalty, and Diſaffection to him, Deſerting him every day, to their new *Hugonot*

King, and giving an Account to him of the ſame diſpoſition in them, that could not make their Eſcape from K. *Lewis*; and K. *L.* to know all this, and that thoſe that ſtaid, gave all the Intelligence they could to his Enemies, and did all the Miſchief they could to him their *Natural* King, under whoſe Protection they then Liv'd: And thoſe of them that were able in *Brettaigne* to hold out in open Arms againſt him, keeping *two* Towns in the ſame Province he had Reduc'd, where they Fortify'd themſelves, and Declared for their *Hugonot* King, and to Reſcue thoſe *Hugonots* that were under King *Lewis* ——

I ſay, if this had been the Caſe 'twixt K. *Lewis* and the *Hugonots*, I believe I ſhall have the Major part of *England* of my Opinion, That King *Lewis* would have dealt otherwiſe with them, than King *James* did with the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*. And perhaps, had any King in Chriſtendom, but K. *James*, had them in his Power (as he had for a whole Summer) he would not have left them in a Capacity to have Driven him out of the Kingdom, as they did: And he was Morally aſſured they would do ſo, when it was in his Power to have prevented them.

But rather than Deſtroy them, he put it in their Power to Deſtroy him; which they did without the leaſt ſenſe of all his Goodneſs to them, which they Diſdain'd to own, but purſued him as a Tyrant. Secretary *Gorge* Aſſures us, in his Large Letter, that the *Iriſh Proteſtants* were more Active againſt King *James*, and were more dreaded by the *Iriſh*, than any other of K. *William*'s Army.

If K. *James* were as great a ſtranger to us, as *Caſar* or *Pompey*, and the Scene were plac'd as far off as thoſe Times, yet who would not have a Zeal to Vindicate the Truth! who would not be mov'd to ſee a King, who ſuffered himſelf to be viſibly Ruin'd by his unprovocable Clemency to *Obſtinate Rebels*, repreſented by them, for ſo doing, as the *Bloodieſt Tyrant* in the World! To ſee this Authors Book Tranſport Men ſo far, without examining, as that the Principal Secretary of State ſhould Licenſe a Pamphlet, call'd, *The Preſen-*

ces

ces of the French *Invaſion Examined*, which p. 14. lays the ſtreſs of our Objections againſt King *James*, upon his Cruelty to the Loyal *Iriſh* Proteſtants, while he was among them in *Ireland*; *His* (*King* James's) *Carriage in* Ireland (ſays the Pamphlet) *to the Loyal Proteſtants writ this* (*viz.* His implacable hatred to the Proteſtants) *in Capital Letters, and it muſt be ſuppos'd they have Drunk deep of* Lethe, *who can forget all this.* Thus poſitively does the *Pamphleteer* averr, upon the Credit of our Author. And therefore it is Incumbent upon our Author, to produce ſome Catalogue of theſe *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, who remain'd *Loyal* to King *James* while he was there (except thoſe few who were in his Army, whom our Author, or our Phamphleteer cannot mean, becauſe they reckon theſe among the number of the *Perſecutors*, and by ſome thought worſe of than the *Papiſts*, for Aſſiſting the *Papiſts* againſt the *Proteſtants*) we deſire a *Liſt* of theſe *Loyal Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, who ſuffered any thing from King *James*, while he was there. Can this Author find ſo many as their were *Righteous* Men in *Sodom?*

But this is much more certain, that King *James's* Mercy to the *Diſloyal Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, put them in a Capacity to help to Drive him out of the Kingdom for his pains.

Does this Author really believe, That King *Lewis* would have uſed them as kindly as King *James* did, while he knew they were Plotting, and would Joyn againſt him?

I Appeal to this Author, Whether he would have thought himſelf ſo Secure in King *Lewis's* hands, if he had been betraying his Councils, and giving Intelligence to his Enemies, as he was, under theſe Circumſtances, in King *James's* Power?

But our Author never fails to make a round Character. That King *James* ſhould not be ſo Good a Man as King *Lewis*, is not ſo great a Matter. But now our Author's hand is in, you ſhall ſee him carry King *James's* Character to be full as Inhumane as that of the *Great Turk* himſelf. You have it end of c. 3. §. 40.

n. 7. p. 224. *The Usage we met with, being* (says the Author) *full as Inhumane, as any thing they* (the *Christians* under the *Slavery* of the *Turk*) *suffer.*

Who would not expect from this Representation, to hear of *Protestants Gassooted* in *Ireland*, Arbitrarily *thrown over Precipices, Drown'd, Tore in Pieces, Flead Alive, Staking upon the High-Way, Mutes* and *Bowstrings!* And to take GOD to Witness, That this is not *Aggravating* nor *Misrepresenting!* The Address of the *Lord Mayor, Aldermen*, &c. of *Dublin* to King *William*, Printed here *Anno.* 1690. and Annex'd in the *Appendix*, n. 21. Saith, that the Sufferings of the Protestants *there* under King *James*, *Did infinitely surpass an* Ægyptian *Servitude.* This is as far as words can go. This is making King *James* worse than the *Devil* himself, for the *Devil* does not *Infinitely* exceed *Pharaoh* in Wickedness.

They were resolved to out-do the *Clergy-Addess* of their own City, spoke by the Bishop of *Meath*: For there he Modestly Confesses to K. *William* that K. *James was able to Crush the Protestants far Worse than he did*; But Secretary *Gorge* in his Letter before quoted, speaks out, and tells in plain English what the Bishop so Gentilely Mine'd. *The King* (*King* James) *is much averse* (says the Doctor) *to all Severity* (to the Protestants) *yet clearly sees he can make no Impression of Loyalty on them.* Notwithstanding (as the same Letter tells us) *He often gave Command to his Officers, That in their Engagements with the* English, *they should be Treated as mistaken Subjects, and not as obstinate Rebels.* Yet these were his bittereſt Enemies, as you have seen. And themselves are forc'd to Confess, that he used them with less Severity than he might, or than they deserved at his hands. And after all this, to hear them complain of *Ægyptian Servitude*, and cry out upon him as a *Tyrant*, infinitely surpassing *Pharaoh*, the *Turk*, or the *French King* (whom some are made to believe is the Worst of the *three*) is *Ridiculous* and *Wicked*; it is supposing us all to be *Naturals*, to think to pass such Stuff upon us; and this is the most effectual Method to Betray the Cause he pretends to Defend.

This

This is Bending a Bow till it breaks, to heap up Calumnys, and Aggravate them till you make the whole Incredible. And the Conſequence is not only Diſ-believing what Pieces of Truths may be told in this Book of our Authors; But, if *Proteſtants* do own and Countenance it as a True *Narrative* of the Affairs of *Ireland* in this *Revolution*, it may bring into Queſtion their true Relations of the Horrible and Bloody Maſſacre of 41. Mounſieur *Clauds* Account of the *French* Perſecution: And whatever is Written by *Proteſtants*.

It is indeed a diſcredit to *Mankind*, to all Hiſtory, and will not fail to bring Diſ-reputation to whatever Party makes uſe of it, whether Proteſtant or Papiſt, How has the *Legends* broken and Ruin'd the Veracity of the Roman Church!

No Cauſe is long ſerv'd by deceit: It will one time or other be Diſcovered. Down-right Honeſty is the beſt Policy! Let us not be afraid to confeſs our own Faults, nor deſire to Enlarge thoſe of our Enemys. *Humanum eſt Errare:* And no doubt there are Errors on both ſides. But to perſiſt in our Error, and to defend it is the *Devils* part. Therefore in the Name of GOD, let *Truth* prevail: And let all the People ſay *Amen*.

Appen·

UMI

An Appendix.

Numb. 1.

King James's *Speech to both Houſes of Parliament in* Ireland, *Publiſhed by his Majeſty's Order*, May 10. 1689.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE exemplary Loyalty which this Nation expreſt to Me, at a time when others of my Subjects ſo Undutifully behaved themſelves to Me, or ſo baſely betrayed Me; and your ſeconding my Deputy as you did, in his bold and reſolute aſſerting my Right, and preſerving this Kingdom for Me, and putting it in a poſture of Defence, made Me reſolve to come to you, and to venture my Life with you, in the Defence of your Liberty, and my Right; and to my great Satisfaction I have not only found you ready and willing to ſerve Me, but that your Courage has equal'd your Zeal. I have always been for *Liberty* of *Conſcience*, and againſt Invading any Man's *Property*; having ſtill in my Mind the ſaying of Holy Writ, *Doe as you would be done by*; *for that is the Law and the Prophets.* It was this Liberty of Conſcienee I gave, which my Enemies both abroad and at home dreaded, eſpecially when they ſaw that I was reſolved to have it eſtabliſhed by Law in all my Dominions, and made them ſet themſelves up againſt Me, though for different Reaſons; ſeeing that if I had once ſettled it, my People in the Opinion of the one would have been too Happy, and I in the Opinion of the other too Great. This Argument was made uſe of to perſuade their own People to join with them, and too many of my own Subjects to uſe Me as they have done; but nothing ſhall ever perſuade Me to change my Mind, as to that: And whereſoever I am Maſter, I deſign, God willing, to eſtabliſh it by Law; and to have no

other Teſt or Diſtinction, but that of Loyalty. I expect your Concurrence in ſo Chriſtian a Work, and in making effectual Laws againſt Profaneneſs and Debauchery. I ſhall alſo moſt readily conſent to the making ſuch good and wholſome Laws as may be for the general Good of the Nation, the Improvement of Trade, and the Relieving ſuch as have been injured by the late Acts of Settlement, as far forth as may be conſiſtent with Reaſon, Juſtice, and the publick Good of my People. And as I ſhall do my part to make you happy and rich; ſo I make no doubt of your Aſſiſtence by enabling Me to oppoſe the unjuſt Deſigns of my Enemies, and to make this Nation flourish. And to encourage you the more to it, you know with how great Generoſity and Kindneſs the *Moſt Chriſtian King* gave a ſecure Retreat to the Queen, my Son, and my Self, when we were forced out of *England*, and came to ſeek Protection and Safety in his Dominions; how he embraced my Intereſt, and gave ſuch Supplies of all ſorts, as enabled Me to come to you, which without his obliging Aſſiſtence I could not have done: This he did at a time when he had ſo many and ſo conſiderable Enemies to deal with; and you ſee ſtill continues to do. I ſhall conclude as I began, and aſſure you, I am as ſenſible as you can deſire Me, of the ſignal Loyalty you have expreſt to Me, and ſhall make it my chief Study, as it always has been, to make you and all my Subjects happy.

The Parliament of Ireland*'s Addreſs to the King.*

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt dutifull and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, being highly ſenſible of the great Honor and Happineſs we enjoy by Your Royal preſence amongſt us, do moſt humbly and heartily thank Your ſacred Majeſty for vouchſafing to come into this your Kingdom of *Ireland*; and for your Grace and Goodneſs to Your Subjects in calling this Parliament, and for Your Majeſty's Tender and Princely Affection expreſſed to all your loving Subjects, in your Majeſty's gracious Speech at the opening of this Seſſion; which we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty may be forthwith printed

and

and published. And we farther crave leave, humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty our Abhorrence and Deteſtation of the late Treaſons and Deſections of many of Your Majeſty's Subjects in this and Your other Kingdoms; and the unnatural Uſurpation of the Prince of *Orange*, againſt the Laws of God and Man; profeſſing with our Voice, Tongue, and Heart, That we will ever be ready to aſſert and vindicate Your Majeſty's Rights to Your Imperial Crown with our Lives and Fortunes, againſt the ſaid *Uſurper* and his Adherents, and all other Rebels and Traitors whatſoever.

Ordered the 10th *of* May, 1689. *by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, that this Addreſs be printed.*

B. Polewheele, *Dep. Cl. Parl.*

Numb. 2.

Dr. Gorge, *Secretary to General* Schomberg *in* Ireland, *his Letter, dated* April (*or* May) 1690. *to Collonel* James Hamilton, *in* London, *to be communicated to the Lady Viſcounteſs* Ranelagh, *the Lord* Maſſereen, *and others.*

Honoured Sir,

THE *Fire*, ſaith the Royal Prophet, *kindled in my Breaſt, and I ſpake with my Tongue:* Perhaps ſome Sparks of that Fire ſo enflamed my Zeal to the publick Good of this Countrey, that I have not onely ſpoke with my Tongue, but wrote with my Pen thoſe Truths which I know have redounded more to my particular Prejudice, than to the publick Service. He that follows Truth too near, ſaith a wiſe man, may loſe his Teeth; and a wiſer than he tells us, that he who profeſſeth ſome Truths, may thereby loſe his Life; yet in the ſame Period tells us, that he ſhall be no loſer thereby; the Satisfaction and Contentment which conſtantly attends Integrity, being much ſweeter than the Advantage of Temporal Security. *Liberavi Animam meam*, and if this make me vile, I am content to be more vile: I know God hath

hath put Enmity between the Seed of the Woman, and the Seed of the Serpent; and I as well know, that it is as vain for Man's Prudence to attempt to unite what God hath divided, as it is sinfull to divide what he hath united. I speak not a little to my satisfaction, what you know to be true, That our Adversaries, who are more God's than ours, want neither Power nor Malice to crush us; such is the Goodness of God, that they dare not own their Hatred; but are content not only to make me fall from my present Station, soft and easie; but are willing to make my Remove an Advantage to me; little thinking, that taking me off from being Secretary to the General, and making me Secretary of State, necessitates one of my Principles to be the more prejudicial to theirs: You know that notwithstanding all their publick and private Opposition, *They are come up to many of our Principles, and we still continue our Distance to theirs*; which for the better memory I shall enumerate in the following Method, the better to obtain your Belief in other particulars, which I shall here subjoin.

You know that I ever asserted, that those Principles and Practices which God blessed with Success in the former *Irish* War, were most like to have the same success in this, which I told you were as followeth:

1. Though the *Irish Papists* had then, as appears by the excellent Preface to the *Act of Settlement*, made that Rebellion the most horrid and universal, as ever befell this Kingdom; and that nothing but the final Extirpation of the *British* Persons, Laws, Religion, and Government was designed and endeavoured by that War: Yet the then *English* Government thought not fit to tread in their Steps, but still declined making the War either National or Religious; and did declare, and, as you know, made their Declaration good at the end of the War, That those of the *Irish* Papists as could prove their constant good Affection to the *English* Interest, as many then did, were as secure in their Properties, as any of the *British* Nation or Religion; and by this means so divided their Interest, that Sir *Ch. Coote*'s Northern Army was most of it composed of *Irish* Papists, who fought faithfully and successfully against their Countreymen, and many yet living know faith-

how faithfully the White Knight of *Kerry* and others as Eminent as he, ſerved General *Cromwell*.

2. By publick Proclamation in thoſe times, they protected *Papiſts* and well as *Proteſtants*, who would live peaceably under their Government, from any violence to be done them by the Soldiers; two private Soldiers being publickly executed in the face of the whole Army, for ſtealing two Hens from an *Iriſh man* not worth ſix pence, for violating the Proclamation, the firſt day General *Cromwell* made his advance from *Dublin* towards *Droghedagh*.

3. They forbid, under the like penalty of death without mercy, any contempt or violation of the Lord General's publick Orders and Proclamations,

4. They prohibited all free quartering on the Countrey, or any Soldiers quartering without Billets from the Conſtable, and would not ſuffer any Soldier to quarter himſelf.

5. They likewiſe under ſevere penalties forbid private Soldiers ſtragling from their Colours without Paſſes, and ordered both Civil and Military Magiſtrates to apprehend ſuch ſtraglers, to ſend them to their Colours, then to be puniſhed according to their reſpective merits.

6. They gave great Encouragement to *Papiſts* as well as *Proteſtants*, who would give Hoſtages for their fidelity, and joyn with them.

7. They ſeverely puniſhed all open Debauchery and Impiety, and would frequently affirm, that good Conduct was more uſually bleſs'd with ſucceſs, than courage of Armies.

8. Though they protected, as aforeſaid, *Papiſts* as well as *Proteſtants*, from the Soldiers violence, yet they left both to be Fin'd, Impriſon'd, or Sequeſter'd by the Civil Magiſtrates, according to their reſpective merits.

9. Both Officers and Soldiers were required to be aiding and aſſiſting to put in execution all Orders or Directions of the Civil Magiſtrate, eſpecially ſuch as referred to the well management of the publick Revenue.

10. They laboured all they could to leſſen the Charge of *England*, and to encreaſe the publick Revenue of *Ireland*.

11. On aſſurance of punctual performance, they contented themſelves with four days pay in a week, and placed the other three days to be paid out of forfeited Lands.

Laſtly, By this Abatement of their Pay, and leaving Rebels Goods, Stock, and Lands, and the publick Revenue to be improved by the Civil Magiſtrate, and making the Soldiers duly pay for their quarters, they ſoon raiſed in this Kingdom a Revenue, which bore a moity of the charge of the War.

I might enumerate many other particulars, which having been the *ſubject matter* of my Diſcourſe with your ſelf, and ſome late Letters I have wrote to Major *Wildman*, I intentionally decline. You know how often and how early we preſſed the neceſſity of reſtoring a *Civil Government* in this Province, and how often and openly we declared that the ruine of the Countrey muſt be the prejudice, and endanger the ruine of the Army; and that there could be found no hands ſo cheap and eaſie to be got, or any that would be more hearty and faithfull than the *Proteſtants* of this Countrey, who having their particular Intereſts ſeconded by Natural and Religious motives, muſt be more zealous in carrying on this War, than any foreign or mercenary Soldiers, as is evident by what has been done by the *London-derry* and *Eneskillen* Soldiers, who are and were made up of the meaneſt and loweſt People of this and the neighbouring Provinces. You cannot forget who offered, and that at their own charge on our firſt landing here, to block up *Charlemont*, and to raiſe Regiments to ſecure the *Northern Gariſons*, that the eſtabliſhed Army, might have the more leiſure to attend the motions of the publick Enemy; and I preſume you cannot but as well remember, who ridiculed, ſcorned, and contemned all motions of that kind, and who affirmed, and that openly, that the *Proteſtants* of this Province, ought rather to be treated as Enemies than Friends, and that the beſt of them had either baſely complied with K. *J.* and his Party, or cowardly left and deſerted their Countrey; that the Goods and Stocks of the *Proteſtant* inhabitants, once ſeized by the Enemy, were forfeited, and ought not to be reſtored, but given as encouragement to the Soldiers; that all *Papiſts* ought to be plundred, and none protected; that the reſtoration of Civil Government was a diminution of the power of the General and the Army, and that all the *Proteſtants*, inhabitants of this Province were falſe to the preſent *Government*, and ought not to be truſted with places of Truſt or Power; that

that as their Persons were not to be trusted, so their Oaths and Complaints were neither to be believed nor redressed; that so an easier and a safer approach might be made to invade the little left them by the *Irish*.

That all endeavours of the settlement of a publick Revenue were designs to oppress the Army; that free quartering was the least retaliation that *Protestants* could give for being restored to their former Estates; that Religion is but Canting, and Debauchery the necessary Character of Soldiers. If to these you add the Pressing of Horses at pleasure, Quartering at pleasure, Robbing and Plundering at pleasure, denying the People Bread or Seed of their own Corn, though the General by his publick *Proclamation* requires both, and some openly and publickly contemning and scorning the said *Proclamation*; whereby multitudes of Families are already reduced to want of Bread, and left only to beg, or steal, or starve. These being the *Practices*, and these the *Principles*, and both as well known to you as to me; can it be wondered that the oppressed *Protestants* here should report us worse than the *Irish*, or can it be wondered that God should pursue us with his dreadfull Judgments who have so provoked him with our daring sins? Or can we rationally expect *God* should fight for us, while we thus fight against him? We may as well expect *Grapes* from *Thornes* and *Figs* from *Thistles*, as success to a *Protestant* Cause from such hands. Can we expect *Sodom* to destroy *Babylon*, or *Debauchery* to destroy *Popery?* Our Enemy fights with the *Principle* of a mistaken Conscience against us, we against the conviction of our own *Principles* against them. What I have learned of the Enemies *Principles* and *Practices* since I left you, I shall here inform you, and reduce what I have to say to these two general heads.

I. The frequent Discourse of their King.

II. His publick *Declarations* and *Proclamations* for the well government of his Army.

I. As to his private Discourse.

1. He expresseth great Zeal and passionate Affection to his *English Subjects*, in so much that both *French* and *Irish* often say of him, as he did of K. *David*, *That he loves his Enemies and hates his Friends.*

2. He

2. He is heard often to desire his Officers, *That in their Engagement with the* English, *they should be treated as mistaken Subjects, and not as obstinate Rebels.*

3. He is heard often to declare, *That since he rightly understood Christianity, he ever asserted Christian Liberty, as well in his past Prosperity, as his present Adversity.*

4. *That all Perswasions in matters of Religion, Who have most Charity and least of Severity, are most agreeable to Christianity.*

5. He is often heard to complain, *That he ever observed, an aptitude and propensity in Persons of Power to persecute such as differ from them.*

6. *That this natural aptitude to persecute, ought to be restrained by wholesome and effectual Laws.*

7. *That this persecuting Spirit influencing the greater number of all Perswasions, especially Persons in Power, is the only cause of his Majesty's present Sufferings.*

8. He is passionately kind to all Deserters, and chearfully receives and soon prefers them.

9. He pretending his Sufferings to be thus on the account of Conscience, seems not to doubt, but God will find some unexpected means, for his Restauration, in 1690. as he did in 1660.

10. He is heard frequently to declare against the *Dragooning Persecution* of *France*, and the barbarous and inhumane Murders committed on the Protestants of this Kingdom in the year 1641. as passionately, and perhaps as sincerely as the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* did against their forefathers for persecuting the Prophets. To these I think fit to add the particulars of his Majesty's publick Declarations, which are ordered to be read once every two months in the head of every Troop and Company in his whole Army, and to be fixed up in all the *Boroughs* and *Market-Towns* in this Kingdom.

1. His Majesty is pleased earnestly to recommend the performance of publick and private Duties to God, to all under his command, and particularly recommends to the *Roman Catholicks* of his Army frequent Confessions, and strict observation of *Sundays* and *Holy-days*.

2. He publickly declares what subsistance he allows to every Horse, Dragoon, and every private Soldier in his Army, and what is reserved in the Pay-Master's hands for the Accoutrements and the Hospital.

3. He

3. He avoids and forbids as unneſſary, the charge of all Agents, and commands the Majors of every Regiment to do that work, and to ſave the charge.

4. He ſtrictly requires the private Soldier out of the ſaid Subſiſtence duly and truly to pay his Quarters.

5. In caſe they ſhall want their Subſiſtence, they are then required every week to give their reſpective Landlords a Note under their hands, which ſhall be received by the Receiver General, as ſo much Money out of any Branch of His Majeſty's Revenue.

6. His Majeſty forbids all ſtragling of private Soldiers from their Garriſons without their Officers Paſs; and requires all Officers, either Military or Civil, to apprehend ſuch Soldiers having no Paſs, and to ſend them to their Colours, to receive puniſhment according to their demerits.

7. His Majeſty by the ſame *Proclamation*, forbids all *Plundering* on any pretence whatſoever, under pain of death without Mercy.

8. He requires both Officers and Soldiers under the pain of his high Diſpleaſure to demean and behave themſelves civilly and reſpectfully in their reſpective Quarters; and to aſſiſt and not obſtruct the Civil Magiſtrates in the execution of theirr eſpective Truſts, eſpecially the Officers concern'd in and about His Majeſty's Revenue.

9. He forbids all Officers and Soldiers to quarter themſelves on any of His Majeſty's Subjects, without having a Billet or Ticket under the hand of the Conſtable or other Civil Officer of the Place.

10. He ſtrictly forbids Preſſing any Countrey-man's Horſe on any pretence whatſoever, without having His Majeſty, his Captain General, his Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy-Lieutenant's Licenſe for his ſo doing; and then allows them to Preſs the ſaid Horſe but one days Journey, and to ſee that the Horſe be returned as well as when received; and particularly forbids the Preſſing any Horſe belonging to any Plough.

11. His Majeſty in the ſame *Proclamation*, enjoyns ſevere penalties on all foreſtallers or obſtructers of Proviſion going to either Camp or Market.

Laſtly, The reſpective penalties enjoin'd in the ſaid *Proclamation*, are ſeverely and impartially executed on the re-

 ſpective

ſpective Offenders. My Family tells me, that the week before they left *Dublin*, there were two private Soldiers executed before a *Proteſtant* Baker's door, for ſtealing two Loaves not worth a Shilling. And a fortnight before, a Lieutenant and Enſign were publickly executed at a place, where on pretence of the King's Service, they Preſs'd a Horſe going with Proviſions to *Dublin* Market; two others were condemned and expected daily to be executed for the like offence: Theſe ſevere examples confirming the penalties of theſe publick *Declarations*, contribute ſo much to the quiet of the Countrey, that were it not for the Countrey *Rapa-rees* and *Tories*, theirs, 'tis thought, would be much quieter than ours. Some of our Foreigners are very uneaſie to us; had not the prudence of a diſcreet Major prevented it, laſt *Sunday* was ſeven night had been a bloody day between ſome of the *Daniſh* Foot and Coll. *Langſton*'s Regiment of Horſe. The truth is, too many of the *Engliſh*, as well as *Danes* and *French*, are highly oppreſſive to the poor Countrey; whereas our Enemy have reduc'd themſelves to that order, that they exerciſe violence on none, but the Proprieties of ſuch as they know to be abſent, or, as they praſe it, in *Rebellion* againſt them, whoſe Stock, Goods, and Eſtates are ſeized, and ſet by the Civil Government, and the proceed applied for and towards the charge of the War. And for their better direction in their ſeizures, it's reported and believed, that they have Copies of the particulars of the *Proteſtants* loſſes, given in to the Committee of the late Houſe of Commons at *Weſtminſter*.

The Enemies great work is to ſecure *Dublin* this Summer, they fearing an Attack before they could get Forrage for their Horſe; and willing to haſten that ſupply, they long ſince ordered all the Deer in the Parks of the *Phœnix* and *Raſfernham* to be deſtroyed, and Cattel to be removed from *Dublin* to get the more earlier Graſs for their Horſe; of which by many Letters to Major *Wildman*, I gave that early notice, that I fear we may pay too dear for the delay; they have ſeized all the Arms and ſerviceable Horſes they can find within their reach, the *Iriſh* having their Religion and National Principle ſupported on the pretence of Law, and the Preſence of the King; and all ſo openly own'd by *France*,

make

makes them more united and unanimouſly reſolved than in any of their former Wars. Their Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Liberty* of *Conſcience* gives them too great help of *Proteſtant* hands; we have not a known *Papiſt* with us, they have hundreds of deluded *Proteſtants* with them. I am credibly told, that they have a ſmall Boat which they ſend weekly to *Wales* to ſupply them with News from *England*; they ſpare for no charge to get Spies and Intelligence from our Quarters; they report they have daily Deſerters, and could have more, did they not preſume they may be more ſerviceable to them by continuing with us. They openly declare, that our Army conſiſts moſt of their Deſerters, and that it was ſucceſs made them leave them, and that the ſame motive will bring them back again. They told the number and the time of the *Danes* landing, and foretell that we ſhall ſoon repent their coming among us; they report that laying aſide the *Proteſtant* hands of this Countrey, and the other forementioned Principles, were Arrows taken out of their Quivers; they tell us, that our King cannot be here till *June*, and that they ſhall be ready a month ſooner to receive him. They report his Army to be Thirty Thouſand, with vaſt ſtores of Arms and Ammunition and Proviſion; the *London-derry* and *Eneskillen* Forces with the recruits of this Countrey, are more dreadful to them than all our Foreign Forces. They are reſolved on a defenſive War, and in caſe they have their promiſed ſupplies, they ſeem not to doubt but to keep *Dublin* this Summer; their great difficulty is what to do with the great number of *Proteſtants* among them; they have many Propoſals under conſideration, but as yet they come to no reſolution. *The King is much averſe to all Severity, yet clearly ſees he can make no impreſſion of Loyalty on them.* The Enemy (as my Wife and Family which have got leave lately to come to me from *Dublin* tell me) report, with more confidence than, I hope, truth, that we have many *Monks* in our Army, many *Sandwitches* in our Fleet, and many *Shaftsburys* in our Council; and that they laid thoſe variety of Engines both in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, that they ſeem not to doubt but that they ſhall have as many Invitations for their return to *England* in 1690. as they had in 1660. and that this Summer they ſhall be able to get Eighty Thouſand Men

Men into the Field, and find Money for their constant Pay.

Being so united as they are, and carrying on the War with so great concurrence of their Church, and having *France* for an additional support, I do no ways wonder but that they may have as many Men; but how to procure them constant Pay, was somewhat my trouble to know. By their Establishment I find, besides Accoutrements and Hospital, that the Pay of a Foot Soldier is but 4 *d.* a Trooper as much over as a Dragoon is short of 12 *d. per diem*, so that Seventy Thousand Foot will amount to 456000 *l.* *per annum*, and Ten Thousand Horse at 12 *d. per diem*, amounts to above 182000 *l.* making in the whole 638000 *l.* and if one fourth more is added for General Officers, Train of Artillary, Contingencies, *&c.* the whole amounts to 797000 *l.* How this sum may be raised out of only three Provinces of this Countrey, seems to be the great doubt. By comparing several Accounts I have received from Spies, I find the heads of their Revenue to be as followeth:

1. I find the late *Parliament* of *Ireland* granted their King a subsidy of 20000 *l. per mensem*, charged on Stock and Lands.

2. The Enemy finding us possess'd of one Province since the passing the Act, and finding much of the other three Provinces made waste by their Order, and that by the frequent returns of their Brass and Pewter Money, a great inland Trade is increased, they have by publick *Proclamation* ordered 20000 *l.* more to be assess'd on the Trading part of the Nation, according to their respective Trades, both which are presum'd cannot yield less than 30000 *l. per mensem de claro*, which is *per annum* 360000 *l.*

3. They have bought on the King's Account all the Wool at 6 *s. per Stone*, Tallow at 15 *l. per Tun*, Beef Tallow, Hides, *&c.* which they intend to send for *France* to buy Arms and Ammunition, *&c.* which they esteem may be worth at least 200000 *l.* the Wool License at 4 *d. per Stone* to transport it only for *England*, was usually worth to the chief Governors 4 or 5000 *l. per annum.*

4. It is reported they have agreed with persons who are obliged to Coin them this year 150000 *l.* Brass and Pewter Money.

5. The

5. The Rent of Church Lands and Abſentees Eſtates beſides their Goods and Stocks, are eſtimated at leaſt to be 150000 *l. per annum*, the truth of this will appear by the aforeſaid Books given in to the Committee of *Parliament*.

6. The King's ſtanding Revenue of Rents, Hearths, Cuſtom-Exciſe, and caſual Revenue cannot be leſs than a 150000 *l.* more.

Memorandum, That all the aforeſaid particulars amount to 860000 *l.* out of which deduced the 797000 *l.* there will remain 73000 *l.* beſides what helps may be given him by *France*, *&c.* and the addition that may be made by their Coining Braſs and Pewter Money above the aforeſaid contract, which Braſs and Pewter Coin being not fit to be kept, quickens returns and encreaſeth their Trade. By all which it appears, that the Enemy cannot want currant Coin to ſupport the War: But had we Ships of War lying by in their Harbour to prevent their Exportations, and were *Dublin* ſeſured, their Trade and Revenue would ſoon be leſſened. But if they are ſuffered to Export their vaſt quantity of Goods they have now ſtored up in their Ports, it may not only give a farther encreaſe to their Revenue, but occaſion a longer continuance of the War, eſpecially having made the eſtabliſhment of their Army ſo low, and the currant value of their Braſs Coin ſo high. Their Braſs and Pewter Coin is of equal weight with our Silver Coin, which being uſually bought for 12 *d. per pound*, is of equal value with our Silver which is 3 *l. per pound*, and their eſtabliſhment being a moity ſhort of ours, 'tis demonſtrable, that ſix Penny worth of their Braſs or Pewter Money ſhall pay double as many Soldiers as 3 *l.* of our Silver Coin. What advantage this Money gives their Trade, what eaſe in the pay of the Army and ſupplying them with Proviſion, is very demonſtrable; yet 'tis as ſtrange as true, that notwithſtanding they are better Paid, better Diſciplin'd than our Army, yet hitherto we may ſet up an *Ebenezar*, and ſay that God hath hitherto fought for us, and that by the ſeeming worſe Diſcipline, worſe Mounted, and worſe of our whole Army; I mean by our *Eneskillen* and *London-dery* Forces, whoſe Moral and Religious Principles you know are little better, but generally worſe than theirs, they having conſtantly beat their moſt choice and

detached Parties, with a confuſed and diſordered Rabble, when they were not half the number of their Enemies; and have ſtruck them with that terror, that 'tis believed, notwithſtanding their great Number and Proviſion for their ſupport, the Enemy intends this Summer only a defenſive War, and to fight only by Detachments: But that which to me ſeems moſt ſtrange, yet is true, that notwithſtanding all the Violence, Oppreſſion and Wrong done by theſe and other of our Army on the Impoveriſhed, Oppreſſed and Plunder'd *Proteſtant* Inhabitants of this Province, and the little encouragement and great diſcouragement they have had from us, yet you know, what I eſteem as a great preſage of future good, they continue and remain as firm and faithful to us, as the *Iriſh Papiſts* againſt us. How frequently do we hear them tell us, that though we continue to injure them, rob and deſtroy them, yet they muſt truſt in us, and be true and faithful to us!

We have juſt now Intelligence of the arrival of the *French* Succours, and vaſt ſtores of Arms and Proviſions. Oh, Sir! Where's our Fleet? Did they want early notice of their approach? What Lethargy attends them, and what Judgment us, that the *Iriſh* have had as ſecure paſſage from *Dublin* to *France*, *Scotland* and *England*, as if we had not one Man of War to hinder them, or ſecure us? If the *French* Fleet carry off as vaſt quantities of our Native Goods as they have brought in their Foreign Succors, *Ichabod* may be wrote on our future proceedings, it being believed by ſome, and confidently reported by others lately come from *Dublin*, that they were apprehending the chief *Proteſtants* in and about that City, to tranſport and make them Priſoners and Slaves of *France*.

Let me know the receipt of this Voluminous Letter, and the uſe you make of it. You may pardon the tediouſneſs of this Letter, which, if an offence, is not like to be haſtily repeated.

Your True Friend
And Faithful Servant,

Rob. Gorge.

Numb. 3.

Numb. 3.

Mr. Osborne's *Letter to my Lord* Massereen.

Loghbrickland, March 9. 1688.

My Lord,

ON the 6th Instant I was introduced by my Lord *Granard*, into my Lord Deputy's Presence in the *Castle* of *Dublin*, I have his *Pass* to come and go through and back from *Ulster*; and though I have not his Excellency's direct Commission, yet I will assure you I am at least permitted by the Lord Deputy, to acquaint the Chief and others of those of the *Ulster Association*, with his Discourse to me, which was to the effect following: *to wit*,

First, That his Excellency doth not delight in the Blood and Devastation of the said Province; but however, highly resents their taking, and continuing in Arms; the affronts done by them to his Majesty's Government thereby, and by some Indignities done to the late *Proclamation* of *Clemency*, Issued and Dated ———

Secondly, Notwithstanding whereof, is willing to receive the said Province into Protection, provided they immediately deliver up to his Army, for his Majesty's use, their Arms and serviceable Horses; and provided they deliver up to his Excellency these three Persons, *viz.* ——— ——— ——— if they remain in the Kingdom, and may be had.

Thirdly, And for farther manifestation of his design to prevent Blood, is willing to grant safe Conduct even to the said three Persons or any other of their Party, to and from his Excellency, ~~and to and~~ from ~~Leiutenant~~ General *Hamilton*, Commander of part of his Army hereafter mentioned, if they intend any peaceable and reasonable Treaty: But withall will not upon the said account or any other, stop the march of the said part of his Army, no not for one hour; and if it shall appear in such Treaty, that they took up Arms meerly for Self-preservation, then he will Pardon even the said three Persons also, but is hopeless that any such thing can be made appear, seeing that many of them have already accepted and received Commissions from the Prince

of

of *Orange*, and display his Colours in the field, as his Excellency is credibly informed.

Fourthly, If these terms be not immediately agreed to, he will with a part of his Army fight them, which part he intends shall be at *Newry* on *Monday* the 11th of this Instant, which will from thence march to *Belfast*, and from thence to *Colrain*, and *London-derry*, as his Excellency intends; and that the Countrey *Irish* not of the Army, Men, Women, and Boys, now all Armed with Half-Pikes and Bionets, in the Counties of *Cavan*, *Monaghan*, *Tyrone*, *London-derry*, &c. will upon the approach of the said part of the Army, and resistance thereto made, immediately enter upon a Massacre of the *British* in the said Counties; which force and violence of the Rabble, his Excellency saith he cannot restrain; and fears that it may be greater than in 1641. These are the heads of what I can offer to you from his Excellency's own Mouth, but I intend to be at *Hills-Borrough* to night, and there to stay for this night, where, if you think fit, I shall freely discourse with you all the particulars; whereof I hope, you will give immediate notice to all chiefly concerned in your County, and Neighbourhood, for gaining of time. I have sent this Express that your Lordship may give advertisement by Express to all such as your Lorpship thinks convenient. I shall add no farther till I have the honour to see your Lordship.

Your Lordship's Obedient Servant,

Alex. Osborne.

Numb. 4.

By the Lords Justices of Ireland, *a* PROCLAMATION.

Sydney, *Tho. Coningsby*,

WHereas the Rebels in *Conaught* and *Munster*, notwithstanding his Majesty's gracious *Declaration* of Mercy towards them; and the many Victories and Successes their Majesties

Majeſties Forces have obtained againſt them, do nevertheleſs continue obſtinate in their Rebellious courſes, being encouraged thereunto by the Intelligence and Aſſiſtance they daily receive from thoſe parts in this Kingdom under their Majeſties Obedience, and in order thereunto great numbers of them daily flock over into the Quarters of their Majeſties Forces, and are there received, ſheltered, and entertained by ſeveral diſaffected People, who pretending Submiſſion to their Majeſties Authority, and receiving Support and Protection under it, do nevertheleſs privately and perfidiouſly give their utmoſt Aſſiſtance to their Majeſties Enemies: For the prevention therefore of the like miſchiefs for the future, We do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all their Majeſties Subjects in this Kingdom, That on any pretence whatſoever they do not preſume to ſhelter, harbour, or entertain any of their Majeſties Enemies or Rebels, or any other *Iriſh Papiſt* whatſoever, but ſuch as they know to be under their Majeſties Obedience, under the penalty of being proſecuted as *Rebels* and *Traitors*, and of ſuffering the utmoſt Severities of the Law. And We do alſo ſtrictly charge and command all their Majeſties good Subjects, that they do not hold any manner of Correſpondence whatſoever with any of their Majeſties *Enemies* or *Rebels*, upon pain of High Treaſon, and as they will anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt Peril.

Given at their Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, *the* 26th *day of* September, 1690. *in the ſecond year of their Majeſties Reign.*

John Davis.

By the Lords Juſtices of Ireland, *a* PROCLAMATION.

Sydney, *Tho. Coningsby*,

WHereas the *Wives*, *Children*, and *Families* of ſeveral perſons in this Kingdom, who have been *killed* in *actual Rebellion* againſt their *Majeſties*, or are now adhering to the *Enemies* in their *Quarters*, or are fled from the uſual *places of*

their Abode, continue in that part of this *Kingdom* which is obedient to their *Majesties Government*, and as we are certainly *informed*, give constant *Intelligence* to, and hold *Correspondence* with their *Majesties* said *Enemies*: These are *strictly* to *Will and Command* the *Wives*, *Children*, and *Servants* of all such *Persons* forthwith to withdraw themselves out of all *Places* under their *Majesties* Obedience, upon *Pain* to be proceeded against as *Spies* and *Enemies*; and all *High Sheriffs*, with the Assistance of the *Justices of Peace*, and *Officers* of their *Majesties Militia*, are hereby commanded to make immediate *Search* for such Persons in their several *Counties*, and to apprehend their Persons, and to conduct them to the next adjacent County to the *River Shannon*, where *they* are to give notice to the *Sheriff* of such next *County*, of the *Time and Place where they will be*; at *which Time* and *Place they* are to *deliver* such *Persons* as *aforesaid* by *Indenture* to the said *next Sheriff*, who is forthwith to *receive*, and in like manner to *convey* them to the *Sheriff* of the next *County*, towards the said *River*, and so from *Sheriff* to *Sheriff*, untill they are removed from all *Places* under their *Majesties Obedience*. And *We* hereby command all *Mayors*, *Sheriffs*, *Justices of the Peace*, and other *Magistrates* whatsoever, that they see this our Proclamation executed with Care, Speed, and Diligence; desiring *all their Majesties military Officers* to be assisting therein. And farther we require the said *Mayors*, *Sheriffs*, and other *Officers* as aforesaid, that they take care that such of the said *Persons* (as are not able to provide for themselves) be furnished with necessary Provision for their *maintenance*, as they pass through the several Counties, and that they receive no *Injury*, but be permitted to carry with them so much of their *Goods* and *Chattels* as shall be necessary *for their Subsistence* in their *Journey*.

Given at their Majesties Castle of Dublin, *the* 26th *day of* September 1690. *in the second year of their Majesties reign.*

John Davis.

By

By the Lords Juſtices of Ireland, *a* PROCLAMATION.

Sydney, Tho. Coningsby.

WHereas we are daily informed of the conſtant Correſpondence, Commerce and Intercourſe, that is between the Rebels and ſeveral Papiſts pretending to live under their Majeſties Protection, whoſe Habitations are adjoining to the Rebels, whereby they receive not only Aſſiſtance, but conſtant Intelligence of all matters tranſacted within that part of this Kingdom under their Majeſties Obedience: For remedy whereof, We think fit hereby to Order, that no Papiſt whatſoever ſhall, from or after the Fourteenth day of *October* next enſuing, inhabit or dwell within ten miles of any of their Majeſties Frontier Gariſons, nor within ten miles of the River *Shanon*, but that all ſuch Papiſts ſhall forthwith, with their Families remove to ſome other parts of this Kingdom, under their Majeſties Obedience, great part thereof being now waſte. And We hereby command all Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, and all other Civil Officers whatſoever, and We deſire all Officers and others of their Majeſties Army, to be aiding and aſſiſting to convey all ſuch Papiſts, with their Families, Goods, and Stock, to ſuch other place, within their Majeſties Obedience, as they ſhall think fit to remove unto; and We hereby declare, that as ſoon as the War ſhall be ended, they may again return to their former Habitations. And as We ſhall take care that all ſuch Papiſts, that ſhall in compliance with this our Proclamation remove, ſhall be civilly treated as other their Majeſties Subjects, and have the Countenance and Protection of the Government, whilſt they behave themſelves as becometh. So We hereby declare, that all ſuch Papiſts, that from and after the fourteenth day of *October* next ſhall preſume to dwell, or ſhall at any time afterwards be found within ten miles of any of their Majeſties Frontier Gariſons as aforeſaid, or within ten miles of the River *Shannon*, that they and every of them ſhall be looked upon as Spies, and perſons correſponding with their Majeſties Enemies. And ſhall be proſecuted accordingly.

Given at their Majeſties Caſtle of Dublin. *26th of* September, *1690. in the ſecond year of their Majeſties Reign.*

John Davis.

Numb. 5.

By the Lord Deputy and Council, A PROCLAMATION.

Tyrconnel,

FOraſmuch as ſeveral perſons in the Province of *Ulſter* and Town of *Sligo* in this His Majeſty's Kingdom, have entered into ſeveral Aſſociations, containing no leſs offence than High Treaſon; and thereupon formed themſelves into ſeveral Parties, dividing and Marſhalling themſelves into ſeveral Regiments, Troops and Companies, marching well Armed up and down the Countrey, to the great terror of the King's Leige People, in manifeſt breach of the Law and of the Peace of this Realm: And having reſolved within Our ſelves to prevent the effuſion of blood, as long as it was poſſible, by uſing all peaceable means to reduce the ſaid Malefactors to their Obedience, have of late iſſued out a Proclamation, ſetting forth the ſaid diſorders, requiring all the ſaid Parties to diſperſe, and repair to their ſeveral Habitations and Callings, aſſuring every of them of His Majeſty's Pardon and Protection. And whereas We ſee the ſaid Offenders, inſtead of complying with our ſaid Proclamation, ſtill do perſiſt in their wickedneſs, by continuing in actual Rebellion, breaking of Priſons, and diſcharging of Priſoners ſecured by due courſe of Law, for Robberies, Fellonies, and other hainous Crimes; by ſeizing upon His Majeſty's Arms and Ammunion, impriſoning ſeveral of His Majeſty's Army, diſarming and diſmounting them; killing and murdering ſeveral of His Majeſty's Subjects, pillaging and plundering the Countrey, and daily committing ſeveral other acts of Hoſtility; and finding no other way to ſuppreſs the ſaid Rebellion, We the Lord Deputy have cauſed a Party of His Majeſty's Army, under the Command of Lieutenant General *Rich. Hamilton*, to march into the Province of *Ulſter* to reduce the *Rebels* there by force of Arms, the conſequence whereof cannot but be very fatal to that Country, and the Inhabitants thereof, and will inevitably occaſion the total Ruine and Deſtruction of that part of His Majeſty's Kingdom: The conſideration whereof hath given Us great diſquiet and

and trouble of mind; that a Countrey well planted and inhabited, ſhould now by the inſolency and traiterous wickedneſs of its own Inhabitants, be brought to ruine and deſolation, which we are ſtill willing to prevent, if any ſpark of Grace be yet remaining in the Hearts of thoſe Conſpirators; hereby declaring, notwithſtanding the many affronts by them put upon His Majeſty's Government, notwithſtanding the ſeveral Acts of Hoſtility by them hitherto Committed, that if they will now ſubmit and become dutiful Subjects, His Majeſty's Mercy ſhall be extended to them, excepting the perſons hereafter excepted; and in order thereunto, We the Lord Deputy and Council, do ſtrictly charge and command all ſuch perſons in Arms in *Ulſter* or the Town of *Sligo*, forthwith to lay down their Arms, and that the principal perſons among them now in the *North*, do forthwith repair to Leiutenant General *Richard Hamilton*, and deliver up to him their Arms and ſerviceable Horſes, and to give him Hoſtages as an aſſurance of their future Loyalty and Obedience to His Majeſty, and that all their adherents do deliver up their Arms and ſerviceable Horſes to ſuch perſon or perſons as he the ſaid Lieutenant General *Richard Hamilton* ſhall appoint to receive them. And We do alſo farther charge and command all the principal perſons of other Commotions and Inſurrections in *Sligo*, to repair forthwith either to Us the Lord Deputy, or to Collonel *Mac Donnald*, at the *Boyle*, and deliver up their Arms and ſerviceable Horſes, and to give Hoſtages as ſecurity for their future peaceable deportment; and their adherents to lay down their Arms, to be delivered up together with their ſerviceable Horſes to the ſaid Collonel *Mac Donnald*. We the Lord Deputy hereby giving ſafe conduct to ſuch of them as will ſubmit according to this Our *Proclamation*. And we do hereby farther declare, That ſuch of the ſaid perſons as ſhall give obedience to theſe our Commands, except the perſons hereafter excepted, ſhall have His Majeſty's *Protection* and *Pardon* for all paſt offences relating to the ſaid Commotions and Inſurrections; but in caſe they ſhall be ſo unhappy as to perſiſt in their wicked deſigns and treaſonable practices, We the Lord Deputy do hereby command all His Majeſty's Forces to fall upon them wherever they meet them, and to

treat them as Rebels and Traitors to His Majesty; yet to the end the innocent may not suffer for the Crimes of the nocent, and that the committals of inhumane acts may be prevented, We do hereby strictly charge and command His Majesty's Army now upon their march to the *North*, and all other his Majesty's Forces, that they, or either of them, do not presume to use any violence to Women, Children, aged or decrepid Men, Labourers, Plow-men, Tillers of the ground, or to any other who in these Commotions demean themselves inoffensively, without joining with the Rebels, or aiding or assisting them in their traiterous actings and behaviours. But in regard *Hugh* Earl of *Mount-Alexander*, *John* Lord Viscount of *Mazareen*, *Robert* Lord Baron of *Kingstone*, *Clotworthy Schevington*, Esq; Son to the Lord Vicount *Mazareen*, Sir *Robert Colvill*, Sir *Arthur Rawden*, Sir *John Magil*, *John Hawkins*, *Robert Sanderson*, and *Francis Hamilton*, Son to Sir *Charles Hamilton*, have been the principal actors in the said Rebellion, and the persons who advised and fomented the same, and inveigled others to be involved therein: We think fit to except them out of this *Proclamation*, as persons not deserving his Majesty's mercy or favour.

Given at the Council-Chamber of Dublin, March 7. 1688.

A. Fytton. C.	*Will. Talbot.*
Granard.	*Tho. Newcomen.*
Limrick.	*Rich. Hamilton.*
Bellew.	*Fran. Plouden.*

Numb. 6.

The Declaration *of* William *and* Mary, *King and Queen of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland. *To all the People of this our Kingdom of* Ireland, *whom it may concern.*

William R.

AS it hath pleased Almighty God to bless our Arms in this Kingdom with a late Victory over our Enemies at the *Boyn*, and with the possession of our Capital City of *Dublin*, and

and with a general diſperſion of all that did oppoſe us: We are now in ſo happy a proſpect of our Affairs, and of extinguiſhing the Rebellion of this Kingdom; that we hold it reaſonable to think of Mercy, and to have Compaſſion upon thoſe whom we judge to have been ſeduced. Wherefore we do hereby declare, we ſhall take into our Royal protection all poor Labourers, common Soldiers, Countrey Farmers, Plowmen, and Cottiers whatſoever; As alſo all Citizens, Townſmen, Tradeſmen, and Artificers, who either remained at home, or having fled from their dwelling, ſhall by the firſt day of *Auguſt* next, repair to their uſual places of Aboad; ſurrendring up what Arms they have, to ſuch Juſtices of the Peace as are, or ſhall be appointed by us, not only to receive the ſame, but alſo to Regiſter the appearance of ſuch of the ſaid perſons as ſhall come and ſubmit unto our Authority. For our Royal intention is, and we do hereby declare, That we will not only pardon all thoſe poor ſeduced people, as to their Lives and Liberties, who ſhall come in by the time aforeſaid, for all Violences they have done or committed by the command of their Leaders, during the War: But we do alſo promiſe to ſecure them in their Goods, their Stocks of Cattel, and all their *Chattels perſonal* whatſoever; willing and requiring them to come in, and where they were Tenants, there to preſerve the Harveſt of Graſs and Corn for the ſupply of the Winter. But foraſmuch as many of them had a legal Right to the Tenancy of ſeveral Lands; ſome holden from Proteſtants, and ſome held from Popiſh Proprietors who have been concerned in the Rebellion againſt us: Our will and pleaſure is, That all thoſe Tenants who held from our good Proteſtant Subjects, do pay their Rents to their reſpective Landlords; and that the Tenants of all thoſe, who have been concerned in the preſent Rebellion againſt us, do keep their Rent in their hands, untill they have notice from the Commiſſioners of our Revenue unto whom they are to account for the ſame. And as we do hereby ſtrictly forbid all Violence, Rapine, and moleſtation to any who ſhall thus come in, and remain Obedient to us; ſo for thoſe of this or any other Rank or Quality, who are already in our Quarters, and within our Power, and Obedient to us; We do hereby charge and require, that

they

they be not disquieted in any sort, without our particular command. For the desperate Leaders of the present Rebellion, who have violated those Laws, by which this Kingdom is united and inseparably annexed to the Imperial Crown of *England*; who have called in the *French*, who have Authorised all Violences and Depredations against the Protestants, and who rejected the Gracious Pardon we offered them in our Proclamation of the twenty second of *February*, 1688. As we are now by God's great favour in condition to make them sensible of their Errors; so are we resolved to leave them to the event of War, unless by great and manifest Demonstrations we shall be convinced they deserve our Mercy, which we shall never refuse to those who are truly Penitent.

Given at our Royal Camp at Finglas *near* Dublin, *the seventh of* July, 1690. *In the second year of our Reign.*

A PROCLAMATION *by the King and Queens most Excellent Majesties.*

William R.

ALthough it be notoriously known, that the Papists of this Kingdom, of all ranks and degrees, were lately furnished with Fire-Arms, Swords, Bagonets, Skeins, Pikes, Half-Pikes, Scythes, and other Arms offensive and defensive; as also with great quantities of Gun-powder. And although we did, by our *Royal Declaration* of the seventh Instant, extend and hold forth our Mercy and Compassion, to all Citizens, Townsmen, Tradesmen, Artificers, poor Labourers, coommon Soldiers, Countrey Farmers, Plow-men, and Cottiers; and assured them not only of Pardon, as to their Lives and Liberties, for all violences done by them by the command of their *Leaders* during the War, but also security in their Goods, Stocks of Cattle, and Chattels personal; and that those of any other Rank or Quality, within our

Quarters,

Quarters; and obedient to Us, ſhould not be diſquieted in any ſort, without our particular Command. And nothing more was expected on their Parts, but either to continue in, or return to their reſpective Dwellings, and to give up their Arms, and follow their ſeveral Trades and Callings. But although ſeveral Perſons have laid hold on our ſaid *Declaration*, and are received into our royal Protection, yet few of them have hitherto brought in their *Arms*, and moſt of thoſe brought in are broken and unſerviceable, which we cannot but look upon as a very high Contempt, and done out of a wicked Deſign, on any opportunity to join with our Enemies and Rebels. To the end therefore that all Perſons may be left without Excuſe, and by obedience to our Commands may prevent the *fatal Conſequences* of their Neglect and Contempt, We do hereby ſtrictly charge and require all Perſon and Perſons of the Popiſh Religion, within this our Kingdom of *Ireland*, who are or reſide within our Quarters, or any part of our ſaid Kingdom reduced to our Obedience, that they, and every of them, do within ten days after publick Proclamation hereof in the City, or Shire-town of that County wherein they reſpectively dwell or reſide, ſurrender and deliver all the Fire-arms, Swords, Bagonets, Skeins, Half-pikes, and other arms offenſive or defenſive; as alſo all the Gun-powder which they lately had in their own Cuſtody, or in the Cuſtody of any other for their Uſe, to the next Mayor, chief Magiſtrate, Sheriff, or Juſtice of the Peace in the City, Town or County wherein they reſpectively dwell or inhabit; who are hereby required to regiſter the ſame, and to return a perfect Liſt of ſuch Arms and Ammunition as they ſhall receive by virtue hereof, to us, or the chief Governour or Governours of our ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland* for the time being; as alſo to lodge the ſaid Arms and Ammunition in our neareſt ſafe Gariſon to the place where they ſhall be received. And we do hereby farther declare, that if the aforeſaid perſons of the popiſh Religion do not, by the time aforeſaid, deliver their Arms, Gunpowder, and Ammunition as aforeſaid, but ſhall neglect or refuſe ſo to doe, we ſhall look upon all ſuch perſons as Contemners of our royal Authority, and as perſons deſigning the Diſturbance of our Government of this Kingdom, and *as Traitors and Rebels*, and

will accordingly abandon them to the *Diſcretion of our Soldiers*, or they ſhall be committed to Gaol without Bail or Mainpriſe. And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all the *Proteſtants* of this Kingdom, that they do not keep or conceal any Arms or Ammunition belonging to any *Papiſt*; but that they be forthwith delivered to the Magiſtrates and Officers aforeſaid, hereby appointed to receive the ſame, as they will anſwer the contrary at their peril. And we alſo hereby charge and require all Mayors, chief Magiſtrates of Towns, Sheriffs, and Juſtices of the Peace, and all the Officers of our Army and Militia, to ſearch, ſeize upon, and ſecure all ſorts of Arms and Ammunition, belonging unto or in the Poſſeſſion of any Papiſt in this Kingdom; and that they alſo apprehend and ſeize upon all and every perſon and perſons, who ſhall after the time limited hereby, and contrary to the Intent hereof, keep or conceal any Arms or Ammunition, and return their Names, with a brief account of their Offence, to the Commiſſioners of our great Seal, that they may be proceeded againſt for the ſame; and that they ſend ſuch Arms and Ammunition as they ſhall ſo ſeize, unto our next Gariſon or Magazin of Stores.

Given at our Court at Chapelifard *this* 31ſt *day of* July, 1690. *in the ſecond Year of our Reign.*

Numb. 7.

Queries propoſed by the Grand Jury *of the City of* Dublin *to the* Judges, *and reſolved by them,* Novemb. 21. 1690.

1. WHether popiſh Freeholders (who raiſed and maintained Soldiers in their Houſes for their Sons, or others,) that ſubmitted to their Majeſties Declaration, took Protections, and did not violate the ſame, ought to be indicted for their former abetting of the Rebellion, or not?

Yes.

2. Whe-

2. Whether popiſh Farmers, who took Commiſſions, and raiſed Men, but received no Arms, and were not in ſervice, and ſubmitted on the Declaration, and took Protection, and did not ſince violate, ought to be indicted, or not?

Yes, if they have Chattels real, elſe not.

3. Whether common Soldiers, or other poor Cottiers, now amongſt the Rebels, no way entituled to any Eſtate in Lands, are by Court intended to be indicted, or not?

Not at preſent.

4. Whether an old Proprietor, that entred into Poſſeſſion by virtue of the late Acts, ought to be indicted, or not?

Yes.

5. Whether popiſh Widows, who were ſuch before the preſent Rebellion, and do ſtill continue Widows, and have Jointures, and that have abetted the Rebellion, in maintaining Soldiers in their Houſes for their Children, who took Commiſſions, and acted thereby in this Rebellion, ought to be indicted for Treaſon, or not?

Yes.

6. Whether popiſh Freeholders, Electors of Parliament Men, who ſigned Indentures of their Elections to the Sheriffs, and have committed no other Crimes, ought to be indicted of High Treaſon, for abetting of the Rebellion, or not?

Yes.

7. Whether Proteſtants who accidentally and undeſignedly hapned to meet at the place in their County, when the Papiſts were electing Parliament Men to the late *pretended Parliament*; and that after ſuch Election (for fear of Death or other Puniſhment) ſubſcribed Indentures of ſuch Election, ought to be indicted, or not?

No.

8. Whether Farmers, who took Commiſſions, and acted thereby, were at the Siege of *Derry*, were afterwards diſbanded

banded, that ſubmitted upon their Majeſties Declaration, and never ſince acted any thing againſt the Government, ought to be indicted for the ſaid former Crimes, or not?

Yes, if they have Chattels real.

9. Whether perſons who were Officers, and others in Rebellion, who deſerted, and came over from the *Rebels* to their Majeſties Obedience, and continue obedient under the protection of the Government, ought to be indicted, or not?

Yes.

Numb. 8.

Two Speeches by the Biſhop of Meath; *one to King* James, *when the Clergy waited on his Majeſty at* Dublin *Caſtle*, 7*th* March 1688. *the other to K.* William, *at his Camp nigh* Dublin, July 7. 1690.

The Speech to King James.

May it pleaſe your moſt Sacred Majeſty.

WE the Clergy of this your Majeſty's City of *Dublin*, and as many of the rural Clergy as the Diſtraction of the Times would permit, are come to congratulate your Majeſty's Arrival, and to aſſure your Majeſty of their Reſolution to continue firm to that Loyalty which the Principles of our Church oblige us to, which in purſuance to thoſe Principles we have hitherto practiſed. We come, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, to implore the Honour of Kiſſing your Majeſty's Hand, and your gracious Protection for our Perſons, Churches, and Religion, and a Liberty to repreſent our juſt Grievances, as occaſion ſhall offer: And we ſhall ever pray, *&c.*

His

His Majeſty's ANSWER.

THE Diſtraction of the Times, I cannot but be ſorry for; and for the Principles of the Church of England *I am very well acquainted with them, nor can I doubt the Loyalty of any Man that acts in purſuance to them; and who do ſo, need not doubt my Protection for their Religion, Perſons, and Properties, in as ample a manner as ever they enjoyed them. And for your Grievances let me know them my ſelf, and I will Redreſs them.*

The SPEECH *to King* William.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE are ſome of the Remains of the Clergy that have ventured to ſtay behind our Brethren in Perillous Times, and under great Diſcouragements, for the Diſcharge of our Duty to God and the People. Two of us are Biſhops, who, together with Five more in the Kingdom, thought our ſelves obliged to continue here, to preſerve the Succeſſion of the Clergy, by the Ordination of Prieſts and Deacons, and the Seminary of the Church by Confirmation. The reſt of our Members are the Clergy of this City, and the Rural Clergy. The former of theſe have ſtaid upon their Charge, under great Wants and Diſcouragements, having not only been deprived of all their Maintenance, but expoſed to daily Dangers, in and for the Diſcharge of their Duties: And the latter are Perſons driven from their Cures, and forced to ſeek Relief and Sanctuary in this City.

We may poſſibly be cenſured by thoſe, who underſtand not the Grounds and Reaſons of our continuance in this Kingdom, as *Trimmers*, or Favourers of Popery: From the firſt we are able to acquit our ſelves, having been guilty of no Compliances, but ſuch as were the effects of Prudence and Self-preſervation, ſuch as were at once both innocent and neceſſary, and fit to be obſerved to a Power, that was able to cruſh us far worſe than it did: And we are ſo far from being guilty of the latter, that we humbly conceive,

That we could not more effectually oppoſe the growth and inundation of Popery, than by keeping up the publick Aſſemblies, by ſticking to our Flocks, and preventing their Seduction by the *Romiſh* Emiſſaries.

We do not come to crave your Majeſty's Protection for our Perſons, our Churches, our Religion, or our Properties, which have been all in ſome meaſure invaded. Our Perſons have been impriſon'd, our Churches taken from us, our Properties deſtroyed by a late Act of Parliament that took away our Tithes; and the free exerciſe of our Religion for ſome time interrupted. A Requeſt of this Nature might perhaps look like a diſtruſt of your Majeſty's care of us, and ſeem to contradict the Glorious deſign of your coming into this Kingdom. We are ſenſible that the generous End of your Majeſty's Preſence is to Reſcue us from the Oppreſſions and Tyranny of Popery; and are well aſſured, that the ſame Paternal Affection, that moved your Majeſty to pity our diſtreſs, will ſtill protect us now we are delivered.

We come rather to bleſs God, as the Author of our Deliverance, and Your Majeſty as the Happy Inſtrument raiſed up by his Providence for the effecting it; to expreſs our Gratitude and Duty to Your Majeſty, who has a double Title to our Services, not only as our King, but as our Gracious Benefactor and Deliverer: To pray for the Succeſs of your Majeſty's Forces, for the Conſummation of that Good Work that you have with ſo much Perſonal Hazard undertaken, that you may carry your Victorious Arms in to other Countries, where the Cries, and the Groans, and the Oppreſſions of the Afflicted Proteſtants, are as great as they have been here: That God would be an Helmet of Salvation to you in the day of Battle, and deal with you as he did with *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he promiſed him the Kingdom of *Egypt* for his hard Service againſt *Tyrus*: May he likewiſe recompenſe your hard Labour in this Kingdom, with the Addition of another that is far more valuable: And may you prove as Happy and Succeſsful an Inſtrument in the ſuccouring of others, as you have been of the poor Afflicted People of this Kingdom.

His ANSWER.

I Am come hither to deliver you from the Tyranny of Popery and Slavery, to protect the Proteſtant Religion, and reſtore you to your Liberties and Properties ; and you may depend upon it.

Numb. 9.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Humble Addreſs of your Loyal and Obedient Subjects, the Inhabitants of Wapping, Shadwel, Ratcliff, *and* Lime-Houſe, *and others therein concerned.*

Moſt Dread and moſt Gracious Sovereign :

AS thoſe of us who profeſs our ſelves Sons of the Church of *England*, do here, as in Duty bound, return our moſt humble and hearty thanks to your Sacred Majeſty for the repeated aſſurance you have in your Royal Declaration of Indulgence given to all your Subjects of that Church, in protecting and maintaining them in the free exerciſe of their Religion ; ſo others of us, who for Non-conformity to that Church felt ſo much of the ſeverity of the *Penal Laws*, do return ſuch our thanks to your Majeſty for our being eaſed from the ſame by ſuch your Declaration : Nor can we (without great Ingratitude to Heaven and to your Majeſty,) forbear to take notice of your particular Tenderneſs expreſſed to us in our common Concern, on the fourteenth of *October* laſt ; and when the hearts of ſo many of us were tranſported with joy, upon our hearing thoſe Gracious Words from your Royal Lips ; namely, That what was for the good of your People, was for your good. We therefore beg your Majeſty's leave, in the ſight of all the World, to preſent you with our moſt Cordial and Solemn aſſurances, that as your Majeſty hath been a Witneſs of the Loyalty and Fidelity of ſome of us, who ſerved the Crown at Sea in the laſt Reign, when you ſo much expoſed the ſafety of your Royal Perſon for the Honour and defence of the Realm, that we and all of us who are Mariners, ſhall be as ready to venture our Lives in any ſuch

ſuch Employment whenſoever your Majeſty ſhall call us to it, as any could then be: And that all of us, of what different Perſuaſion in Religion ſoever we may be, ſhall yet moſt firmly agree in the diſcharge of the Duty of our natural Allegiance to your Majeſty; and like true *Engliſhmen* think no Dangers too great for us to encounter with, in the moſt faithfull Service of your Majeſty, either by Sea or Land.

Numb. 10.

Sir Peter Pett's *Speech to his Majeſty at* Whitehall *on the* 25th *of* May 1688. *after the moſt Honourable the Lord Marquis of* Powis *had read the Addreſs of the Inhabitants of* Wapping, Shadwel, Ratcliff, Lime-Houſe, *&c. Together with His Sacred Majeſty's moſt Gracious Expreſſions thereupon relating to the Seamen.*

THe Ld. Marqueſs of *Powis* having repreſented to his Majeſty the Merits of the *Petition*, of many Inhabitants in *Wapping*, *Shadwell*, *Ratcliff*, and *Lime-Houſe* (in which places the greateſt part of the Seamen, and Naval Manufacturers of *England* is ſuppoſed to dwell) and having pleaſed at the requeſt of ſome of thoſe Inhabitants to read their Addreſs to his Majeſty, (the which *Addreſs* was ſigned by ſome, who had been Captains in the King's Men of War, and by many now Maſters and Commanders, Boat-Swains, Carpenters, and Gunners, and many hundreds of other Mariners in Merchant Ships, in Subſcriptions filling five large Skins of Parchment;) Sir *Peter Pett*, after his Lordſhip's reading of the ſaid *Addreſs*, made this following Speech to his Majeſty.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

I Finding that your Majeſty is now going to Council, ſhall not preſume to detain your Majeſty long from the *Grandia Regni* that there attend you, but ſhall only beg your Majeſty's leave that I may acquaint thoſe Gentlemen here who are Seamen, with ſome particulars of your late vaſt Expences of your Time and Treaſure upon your Navy Royal, and

and of your Majesty's extraordinary Care in preserving the Walls of your Kingdom (the which your Ships and your Seamen have always been reputed to be) to the end that they may acquaint their Neighbours therewith.

It is known, Sir, that as for the Seamen, your Majesty never paid them with *Tickets*, and that you have paid the greatest part of your Brother's Debts to them, and also to the Ship Wrights; and that the Seamen have been by your Majesty punctually paid, as the Ships they belong to came home and were unrigg'd; and that the Workmen in the Yards are quarterly paid as soon as their Wages become due; and that the Chest at *Chatham*, out of which the maim'd Soldiers have been still provided for, has been plentifully supplied by your Majesty out of your Own Purse, to the value of about 20000 *l.* the Revenue of that Chest, by the Collections from the Seamen, having been so very inconsiderable, that it did not near support the Charge.

And I account, that since the last Parliament your Majesty has laid out great Sums of Money in rebuilding and repairing the Thirty Sail, and the rest of the Navy, and that to the value of 350000 *l.*

The Charge of your Majesty's having since your Parliament built six new Men of War, will appear but comparatively inconsiderable, when it shall be thought of, how your Majesty has since built new Store-Houses at *Portsmouth* and *Chatham*, wherein Cables are sorted and lye at length, and all manner of Sea Stores for Boat-Swains and Carpenters laid distinct for the respective Ships to which the same belong; as also their Rigging distinctly laid apart, which things were never done in *England* before; and by means whereof, your Ships may be Equipt for Sea in less than a quarter of the time that they were formerly. In the building of those Store-Houses, and furnishing them with vast quantities of Stores, and all bought by your Majesty with ready money, and at the best hand, I account your *Majesty* hath expended Millions of Pounds Sterling.

The *Gazetts* that have in part made Publication of your *Majesty*'s vast Charge in buying with ready money *Masts*, *Timber*, *Hemp*, *Sail-Cloth*, and all other Naval Stores, have necessarily awakened the thoughts of your Subjects to reflect

with a high Veneration on your *Majeſty*'s having ſo freely imploy'd for the publick uſe thoſe Supplies that were ſo freely afforded you in Parliament, (and without ſuch ſtrict Clauſes of appropriating them to particular uſes, as were in the laſt Reign,) and with joy to look on the glorious Super-ſtructure that your Reign hath hereby built on that great Foundation of the happineſs of any Kingdom, namely, an entire mutual Confidence between Prince and People.

There is another thing occurs to my Obſervation; namely, That ſince your *Parliament* your *Majeſty* hath allowed for the yearly Charge of the *Navy* about 400000 *l.* which is much more than was allowed for that uſe in his late *Majeſty*'s Reign.

Theſe are great things, Sir, and your Seamen cannot but be ſenſible, of the Honour and Happineſs you have taken care of for them, and how by your rebuilding your Capital Ships, you have prepared floating Pallaces for them to inhabit and ſerve you in.

Sir, The Hearts of your Seamen having in them ſo great a conſtant ſtock of the natural heat of Loyalty, it is not to be wondered at, that this Noble Lord could by his Breath ſo eaſily occaſion that flame of *Zeal* for your *Majeſty*'s Service, that has appeared in their *Addreſs*; his Lordſhip having likewiſe acquainted them with the tender regard your *Majeſty* had to their wellfare and preſervation, and to their being eaſed from all Grievances.

To conclude, Sir, The things that I have before referred to, are ſuch as muſt naturally make great impreſſions, not only on your Seamen, but on all *Engliſh Patriots*, and incline your Subjects of all *Religionary Perſuaſions*, when they ſhall conſider how Indulgent and Provident a Father of their Countrey God hath ſet over them, to think of thoſe words, *That he hath not dealt ſo with every Nation.* And when they ſhall conſider thoſe great Effects of your Royal Care, for the ſecuring the Being of the Kingdom, and *England's* being a Kingdom for ever, to apply to your Self and to *England*, the great Landatory Expreſſion addreſt to King *Solomon*; namely, *Becauſe God loved Iſrael for ever, therefore made he you King.*

His Majesty was then Graciously pleased to say,

Gentlemen,

I Thank you for your Addres, and I doubt not but when I shall think fit to call a Parliament, you will make it your business to choose such good Men as shall correspond with the effect of your Addres; I assure you, I never questioned the Loyalty of my Seamen. I have my Self been an Eye Witnes of both your Courage and your Loyalty, when I was your Admiral: And, Gentlemen, I am your Admiral still, and my Seamen may depend upon it, that they shall always be well provided for and duly paid, and be carefully protected and encouraged by me, as much as the Seamen ever were by any of My Predecessors: Though some of My Neighbours give out, and would have it believed, that I have not the Hearts of My Seamen, yet I have found the contrary; for when I have occasion to fit out any Ships, I do not find that I am in the least want of Men; and whenever my Affairs may require the fitting out My whole Fleet, I do not in the least doubt, but that I shall find My Seamen ready to serve Me.

Numb. 11.

An Abstract of Mr. Pepy's *Memoirs of the Royal Navy.*

IN *April* 1679, the Ships of War actually in Pay, were 76. whereof one First Rate, three Second Rates, fifteen Third Rates, thirty Fourth Rates, twelve Fifth Rates, seven Sixth Rates, eight Fire-Ships. P. 6.

Thirty Capital Ships more were then in building, whereof eleven then Launch'd P. 8.

In *May* 1679. the Admiralty was put into the Hands of Commissioners, which Commission expired in *May* 1684. when the Navy was found to be in a most lamentable condition, as is demonstrated p. 16. P. 10.

Little was, or could be done in the remainder of that year, in the latter end of which King *Charles* the Second died; upon whose death King *James* applied himself to the redres P. 22.

of

P. 30. of the Navy, and deputed 400000 *l.* a year to that purpoſe,
P. 116. chooſing new Commiſſioners to manage the whole. Forbidding the Commanders of his Ships to carry Paſſengers, or tranſport *Bullion*, to the neglect of his ſervice, and impairing his Ships, and for that reaſon giving them an allowance extraordinary for their Tables.
P. 120.
P. 132. In October 1688. The Fleet at Sea conſiſted of twelve Third Rates, twenty eight Fourth Rates, two Fifth Rates, five Sixth Rates, and twenty Fire-Ships, all the other Ships of War, except three, being either actually repaired, or under repair.
P. 139. Eight Months Sea-ſtores were left with them in Magazine for every *Ship* repaired, with the like in Materials, and money for the whole remainder.
P. 142. Stores left for the *Ships* at Sea to the value of 280000 *l.* in *Hemp*, *Pitch*, *Tar*, *Roſin*, *Canvas*, *Oyl*, and *Wood*, 100000 *l.* more.
P. 157. When the King took the care of the *Navy* into His Own Hands, the groſs of the *Ships* were out of repair, and the beſt of them ready to ſink in the Harbour.
P. 214. The Concluſion, That it was a ſtrenuous Conjunction of Integrity, Knowledge, and Experience, Vigour of Application and Aſſiduity, Strictneſs and Diſcipline, and Method, (and that Conjunction alone) that within half the time, and leſs than half the Charge, that it coſt the Crown in the expoſing the *Navy*, had (at the very inſtant of its unfortunate Lord's withdrawing himſelf from it) raiſed the *Navy* of *England* from its loweſt State of Impotence, to the moſt advanc'd ſtep towards a laſting and ſolid Proſperity, that (all circumſtances conſidered) this Nation had ever ſeen it at.

A Liſt

right

A LIST of SHIPS,

That have been Loſt or Damaged ſince the Year 1688.

Rate.	*Ships Names.*	*Tuns.*	*Captains.*	*Time when.*	*Place where.*	*Manner how loſt & taken.*
2	*Coronation*	1427	Charles Skelton	3 *Sept.* 1691	*Ramhead*	Overſet. (be repair'd.
2	*Victory*	1029	———	27 *Feb.* 90	*Woolwich*	Caſt on Survey not fit to
3	*Ann*	1039	John Tyrell	6 *July* 90	3 *Miles W. of Rye*	Burnt in Fight.
3	*Bredah*	1018	Matth. Tennant	12 *Oct.* 90	*Cork*	Blown up.
3	*Dreadnought*	735	Rob. Wilmott	16 *Oct.* 90	6 *Leag. SSW. N. Forlds*	Foundred.
3	*Henrietta*	763	John Nevill	25 *Dec.* 89	*Plymouth*	Caſt away.
3	*Harwich*	993	Hen. Robinſon	4 *Sept.* 91	*Plymouth*	Caſt away.
3	*Exeter*	1070	George Meeſe	12 *Sept.* 91	*Plymouth*	Blown up.
3	*Pendennes*	1036	Geo. Churchill	28 *Oct.* 89	*Kentesknock*	Caſt away.
4	*Centurion*	531	Bar. Beaumont	25 *Dec.* 89	*Plymouth*	Caſt away. (a Hulk.
4	*St. David*	638	John Greydon	11 *Nov.* 89	*Portſmouth*	Sunk, weighed, and made
4	*Portſmouth*	466	George St. Lo	9 *Aug.* 89	*at Sea*	Taken by the *French.*
4	*Mary Roſe*	556	John Bounty	12 *July* 91	*at Sea*	Taken by the *French.*
4	*Sedgmore*	663	David Lloyd	3 *Jan.* 88	*S. Marg. Bayn*	Caſt away.
5	*Conſtant Warwick*	379	James Moody	12 *July* 91	*at Sea*	Taken by the *French.*
5	*Dartmouth*	265	Edw. Pottinger	8 *Nov.* 90	*Iſle of Mull*	Caſt away.
5	*Heldenburgh*	227	Alben Howell	17 *Dec.* 88	*Back Iſle of Wight*	Caſt away.
5	*Lively Prize*	250	W. Tichburne	*Oct.* 89	*at Sea*	Retaken by the *French.*
Fire-Ships.	*Charles and Henry*	120	W. Stone	29 *Nov.* 89	*Plymouth*	Caſt away.
	Alexander	150	Tho. Jennings	21 *June* 89	*at Sea*	Burnt by accident.
	Eliz. and Sarah	100	———	28 *Oct.* 90	*Sherenеſſe*	Sunk for ſecuring the gra-
	Hopewell	253	Tho. Warren	3 *June* 90	*Downes*	Burnt. (ving place.
	Emanuel	170	———	25 *Feb.* 89	*Portſmouth*	Delivered to the Prize-
	John of Dublin	90	———	———	*Portſmouth*	Officers to be ſold.
	Sampſon	240	———	27 *Oct.* 89	*Sherenеſſe*	Sunk for the graving pl.
Bomb-veſſel.	*Fire-Drake*	202	John Votear	12 *Nov.* 89	*at Sea*	Taken by the *French.*
6	*Dragon Sloop*	57	Fred. Weyman	12 *Jan.* 89	*Iſle of Thanet*	Caſt away.
6	*Drake*	151	Thomas Spragg	———	90 *Jamaica*	Caſt on Survey.
6	*Blade of Wheat*	150	———	25 *Dec.* 89	*Plymouth*	Caſt away.
6	*Supply*	———	Geo. Croſs	———	———	Delivered to her Owners.
6	*Dumbarton*	191	Simon Row	———	90 *Virginia*	Caſt on Survey.
6	*Deptford* Ketch	79	Tho. Berry	26 *Aug.* 89	*Virginia*	Caſt away.
6	*King's-Fiſher* Ketch	61	Rob. Audley	23 *Mar.* 89	*at Sea*	Taken by the *French.*
6	*Talbot*	91	Ch. Staggens	19 *July* 91	*at Sea*	Taken by the *French.*
Hulk.	*Stadthouſe*	440	———	28 *Oct.* 90	*Sherenеſs*	Sunk for ſecuring the gra-
	Stephen	716	———	———	*Woolwich*	Broke up. (ving place.

SHIPS that have been Damaged by running on Shoar.

Rate.	*Ships Names.*	*Tuns.*	*Captains.*	*Time and Place.*
2	*Vanguard*	1397	Richard Carter	the 10th of *September*, 1691. on the *Goodwin Sands.*
3	*Northumberland*	1048	Andrew Cotton	3d of *Septemb.* 1691. at the *Hamoſe* at *Plymouth.*
	Royal Oak	1107	George Byng	
	Elizabeth	1097	Henry Prieſtman	
	Warſpight	892	Stafford Fairborne	
	Hope	1048	Peter Pritchard	
	Eagle	1065	John Leake	
	Sterling Caſtle	1059	Benj. Watters.	

Note, That this Liſt extends onely to the 13th of *November*, 1691. There is a large Liſt of Men of War loſt ſince that time, beſides above Two Thouſand Merchant-men.

Numb. 13.

The Oath of Allegiance given to the Proteſtants in Cork, Limerick, *and ſome other Garriſons, by the Officers, when King* James *drew out the Soldiers from theſe Garriſons into the Field.*

YOU ſhall Swear that from this Day forward you ſhall be true and faithful to our Sovereign Lord King *James* and his Heirs, and Truth and Faith ſhall bear of Life and Member, and Terrene Honour; and you ſhall neither know nor hear of any Ill or Damage intended unto him, that you ſhall not defend, ſo help you Almighty God.

7 *E.* 2. *tit. Avowrie* 211. 4 *E.* 3. *fol.* 42. 13 *E.* 3. and in *Britton.* 5 E. 1. *c.* 29.

Numb. 14.

A Letter written to my Lord Ruſſel *in* Newgate, July 20. 1683.

My Lord,

I Was heartily glad to ſee your Lordſhip this Morning in that calm and devout Temper at the Receiving of the Bleſſed Sacrament; but Peace of Mind, unleſs it be well-grounded, will avail little: And becauſe tranſient Diſcourſe many times hath little effect, for want of time to weigh and conſider it; therefore in tender compaſſion of your Lordſhips caſe, and from all the good Will that one Man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your Lordſhips deliberate thoughts theſe following Conſiderations, concerning the points of Reſiſtance, if our Religion and Rights ſhould be invaded, as your Lordſhip puts the Caſe; concerning which I underſtand by Dr. *B.* that your Lordſhip had once received ſatisfaction, and am ſorry to find a Change.

Firſt, That the Chriſtian Religion doth plainly forbid the Reſiſtance of Authority.

Secondly, That though our Religion be eſtabliſh'd by Law, (which your Lordſhip urges as a Difference between our Caſe and that of the Primitive Chriſtians,) yet in the ſame Law which eſtabliſhes our Religion it is declared, *That it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take up Arms*, &c. Beſides that, there is a particular Law, declaring the Power of the *Militia* to be ſolely in the King: And that ties the Hands of Subjects, though the Law of Nature, and the General Rules of Scripture had left us at liberty; which I believe they do not, becauſe the Government and Peace of Humane Society could not well ſubſiſt upon theſe Terms.

Thirdly, Your Lordſhips Opinion is contrary to the declared Doctrine of all Proteſtant Churches; and though ſome particular Perſons have taught otherwiſe; yet they have been contradicted herein, and condemned for it by the generality of Proteſtants. And I beg your Lordſhip to conſider how it will agree with an avowed aſſerting of the Proteſtant Religion, to go contrary to the General Doctrine of Proteſtants. My end in this is to convince your Lordſhip that you are in a very great and dangerous miſtake, and being ſo convinced, that which before was a Sin of Ignorance, will appear of much more heinous Nature, as in Truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep repentance; which if your Lordſhip ſincerely exerciſe upon the ſight of your Error, by a penitent acknowledgement of it to God and Men, you will not only obtain forgiveneſs of God, but prevent a mighty Scandal to the Reformed Religion. I am very loath to give your Lordſhip any diſquiet in the diſtreſs you are in, which I commiſerate from my Heart; but am much more concerned, that you do not leave the World in a deluſion, and falſe Peace, to the hindrance of your Eternal Happineſs.

I heartily pray for you, and beſeech your Ldſhip to believe that I am, with the greateſt ſincerity and compaſſion in the World,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful and afflicted Servant,

J. Tillotſon.

Printed for *R. Baldwin*,
1683.

The

Numb. 15.

The Earl of Sunderland's LETTER *to a Friend in* London. *Plainly discovering the Designs of the Romish Party, and others, for the subverting of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom.*

Licensed and Entred, *March* 23. 1689.

TO comply with what you desire, I will explain some things which we talked of before I left *England*. I have been in a *Station* of great Noise, without Power or Advantage whilst I was in it, and to my *Ruine* now I am out of it. I know I cannot justifie my self by saying, though it is true, that I thought to have prevented much mischief; for when I found that I could not, I ought to have quitted the service. Neither is it an *Excuse* that I have got none of those things which usually engage men in publick Affairs; my Quality is still the same it ever was, and my Estate much worse, even ruined, though I was born to a very considerable one, which I am ashamed to have spoiled, though not so much as if I had encreased it by indirect means. But to go on to what you expect: The *pretence* to a *Dispensing Power* being not onely the first thing which was much disliked since the Death of the late King, but the foundation of all the rest, I ought to begin with that, which I had so little to doe with, that I never heard it spoken of till the time of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, that the King told some of the Council, of which I was one, that he was resolved to give Employments to *Roman Catholicks*, it being fit that all Persons should serve who could be usefull, and on whom he might depend. I think every body advised him against it, but with little effect, as was soon seen: That *Party* was so pleased with what the King had done, that they *persuaded* him to mention it in his *Speech* at the next meeting of the *Parliament*, which he did, after many Debates whether it was *proper* or not; in all which I *opposed* it, as is known to very considerable Persons, some of which

which were of another opinion; for I thought it would engage the King too far, and it did give such Offence to the *Parliament*, that it was thought necessary to *prorogue* it. After which the King fell immediately to the *supporting* the *Dispensing Power*, the most Chimerical Thing that was ever thought of, and must be so, till the Government here is as absolute as in *Turkey*, all Power being included in that one. This is the sense I ever had of it, and when I heard Lawyers defend it, I never changed my *Opinion* or *Language*. However it went on, most of the Judges being for it, and was the chief Business of the State, till it was looked on as settled. Then the Ecclesiastical Court was set up, in which there being so many considerable Men of several kinds, I could have but a small part; and that after Lawyers had told the King it was legal, and nothing like the *High Commission Court*, I can most truly say, and it is well known, that for a good while I defended *Magdalen* Colledge, purely by Care and Industry, and have hundreds of times begg'd of the King never to grant *Mandates*, or to change any thing in the *regular course* of *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, which he often thought reasonable, and then by perpetual importunities was prevailed upon *against his own Sense*, which was the very Case of *Magdalen* Colledge, as of some others.

These things which I endeavoured, though without Success, drew upon me the Anger and ill Will of many about the King. The next thing to be tried, was to take off the *Penal Laws* and the *Tests*, so many having promised their Concurrence towards it, that his Majesty thought it feesible; but he soon found it was not to be done by that Parliament, which made all the Catholicks desire it might be dissolved, which I was so much against, that they complained of me to the King, as a Man who ruined all his Designs by *opposing* the *only thing* could carry him on, Liberty of *Conscience* being the Foundation on which he was to build. That it was first offered at by the Lord *Clifford*, who by it had done the work, even in the *late King's Time*, if it had not been for his Weakness, and the Weakness of his Ministers: Yet I hindred the Dissolution several Weeks, by telling the King, that the Parliament in Being would doe every thing he could desire, but the taking off the Penal Laws and the Tests, or the allowing

his

his Diſpenſing Power; and that any other Parliament, tho' ſuch a one could be had as was propoſed, would probably never repeal thoſe Laws; and if they did, they would certainly never do any thing for the ſupport of the Government, whatever Exigency it might be in. At that time the King of *Spain* was ſick, upon which I ſaid often to the King, that if he ſhould dye, it would be impoſſible for his Majeſty to preſerve the Peace of Chriſtendom; that a War muſt be expected, and ſuch a one as would chiefly concern *England*; that if the preſent Parliament continued, he might be ſure of all the Help and Service he could wiſh; but in caſe he diſſolved it, he muſt give over all thoughts of foreign Affairs, for no other would ever aſſiſt him, but on ſuch terms as would ruine the Monarchy; ſo that from abroad, or at home, he would be deſtroyed, if the Parliament were broken, and any Accident ſhould happen, of which there were many, to make the Aid of his People neceſſary to him. This and much more I ſaid to him ſeveral times privately, and in the hearing of others; but being over-powered, the Parliament was broke, the Cloſeting went on, and a new one was to be choſen. Who was to get by Cloſeting I need not ſay; but it was certainly not I, nor any of my Friends; many of them ſuffered, who I would fain have ſaved: And yet I muſt confeſs with Grief, that when the King was reſolved, and there was no remedy, I did not quit as I ought to have done; but ſerved on in order to the calling another Parliament. In the midſt of all the preparations for it, and whilſt the Corporations were regulating, the King thought fit to order his Declarations to be read in all Churches, of which I moſt ſolemnly proteſt I never heard one word, till the King directed it in Council: That drew on the Petition of my Lord the Arch Bp. of *Canterbury*, and the other Lords the Biſhops, and the Proſecution, which I was ſo openly againſt, that by arguing continually, to ſhew the Injuſtice and Imprudence of it, I brought the Fury of the *Roman Catholicks* upon me to ſuch a degree, and ſo unanimouſly, that I was juſt ſinking; and I wiſh I had then ſunk: But whatever I did fooliſhly to preſerve my ſelf, I continued ſtill to be the object of their Hatred, and I reſolved to ſerve the Publick as well as I could, which I am ſure

moſt of the conſiderable Proteſtants then at Court can teſtifie, and ſo can one very eminent Man in the Country, whom I would have perſuaded to come into buſineſs, which he might have done, to have helped me to reſiſt the Violence of thoſe in power; but he deſpaired of being able to doe any good, and therefore would not engage. Some time after came the firſt News of the Prince's Deſigns, which were not then looked on as they have proved, no body foreſeeing the Miracles he has done by his wonderful Prudence, Conduct, and Courage; for the greateſt thing which has been undertaken theſe thouſand years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without Vertues hardly to be imagined till ſeen nearer hand. Upon the firſt thoughts of his coming I laid hold of the opportunity to preſs the King to doe ſeveral things which I would have had done ſooner, the chief of which were to reſtore *Magdalen* Colledge, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, which had been diverted from what they were intended for, to take off my Lord Bp. of *London*'s Suſpenſion, to put the Counties into the ſame hands they were in ſome time before, to annull the Eccleſiaſtical Court, and to reſtore entirely all the Corporations of *England:* Theſe things were done effectually, by the help of ſome about the King, and it was then thought I had deſtroyed my ſelf by enraging again the whole *Roman* Catholick party to ſuch a height as had not been ſeen; they diſperſed Libels of me every day, told the King that I betraid him, that I ruined him by perſuading him to make ſuch ſhamefull Condeſcentions; but moſt of all by hindring the ſecuring the chief of the diſaffected Nobility and Gentry, which was propoſed as a certain way to break all the Prince's Meaſures; and by adviſing his Majeſty to call a free Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than upon foreign Aſſiſtence. It is true I did give him thoſe Counſels which were called weak, to the laſt moment he ſuffered me in his Service; then I was accuſed of holding a Correſpondence with the *Prince*, and it was every where ſaid amongſt them, that no better could be expected from a Man ſo related as I was to th: *Bedford* and *Leiceſter* Families, and ſo allied to Duke *Hamilton*, and the Marqueſs of *Halifax*. After this Accuſations of High Treaſon were brought againſt me, which, with ſome

ſome other reaſons relating to affairs abroad, drew the King's diſpleaſure upon me, ſo as to turn me out of all without any Conſideration; and yet I thought I eſcaped well, expecting nothing leſs than the loſs of my Head, as my Lord *Middleton* can tell, and I believe none about the Court thought otherwiſe; nor had it been otherwiſe, if my Diſgrace had been deferred a day longer: All things being prepared for it, I was put out the 27th of *October*, the *Roman* Catholicks having been two Months working the King up to it without intermiſſion, beſides the ſeveral Attacks they had made upon me before, and the unuſual aſſiſtence they obtained to do what they thought ſo neceſſary for the carrying on their Affairs, of which they never had greater hope than at that time, as may be remembred by any who were then at *London*. But you deſired that I would ſay ſomething to you of *Ireland*, which I will do in very few words, but exactly true.

My Lord *Tyrconnel* has been ſo abſolute there, that I never had the Credit to make an Enſign, or keep one in, nor to preſerve ſome of my Friends, for whom I was much concerned, from the leaſt Oppreſſion and Injuſtice, though I endeavoured it to the utmoſt of my power; but yet with care and diligence, being upon the place, and he abſent, I diverted the calling a Parliament there, which was deſigned to altar the Acts of Settlement. Chief Juſtice *Nugent* and Baron *Rice* were ſent over with a draught of an Act for that purpoſe, furniſhed with all the preſſing Arguments could be thought on to perſuade the King, and I was offered forty thouſand pound for my Concurrence, which I told the King, and ſhewed him at the ſame time the injuſtice of what was propoſed to him, and the prejudice it would be to that Countrey, with ſo good Succeſs, that he reſolved not to think of it that year, and perhaps never. This I was helped in by ſome Friends, particularly my Lord *Godolphin*, who knows it to be true, and ſo do the Judges before named, and ſeveral others.

I cannot omit ſaying ſomething of *France*, there having been ſo much talk of a *League* between the two Kings. I do proteſt I never knew of any; and if there were ſuch a thing, it was carried on by other ſort of men laſt Summer. Indeed

French

French Ships were offered to join with our Fleet, and they were refuſed: Since the noiſe of the Prince's Deſign more Ships were offered, and it was agreed how they ſhould be commanded, if ever deſired. I oppoſed to death the accepting of them, as well as any Aſſiſtence of Men, and can ſay moſt truly, that I was the principal means of hindering both, by the help of ſome Lords, with whom I conſulted every day, and they with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great Prejudice, if not ruinous to the Nation. If the Report is true, of Men, Ships, and Money, intended lately for *England* out of *France*, it was agreed upon ſince I was out of Buſineſs, or without my knowledge; if it had been otherwiſe, I believe no Body thinks my Diſgrace would have happened. My greateſt misfortune has been to be thought the Promoter of thoſe things I oppoſed and deteſted, whilſt ſome I could name have been the *Inventors* and *Contrivers* of what they have had the art to lay upon others; and *I* was often fooliſhly willing to bear what my Maſter would have done, though *I* uſed all poſsible Endeavors againſt it. *I* lie under many other Misfortunes and Afflictions extreme heavy; but *I* hope they have brought me to reflect on the occaſion of them, the looſe, negligent, and unthinking Life *I* have hitherto led, having been perpetually hurried away from all good Thoughts by Pleaſure, *Idleneſs*, the *Vanity of the Court*, or by *Buſineſs*: *I* hope, *I* ſay, that *I* ſhall overcome all the Diſorders my former Life had brought upon me, and that *I* ſhall ſpend the remaining part of it in begging of Almighty God that he will pleaſe either to put an end to my Sufferings, or to give me ſtrength to bear them, one of which he will certainly grant to ſuch as relie on him, which *I* hope *I* do, with the ſubmiſsion that becomes a good Chriſtian. I would enlarge on this Subject, but that I fear you might think ſomething elſe to be the reaſon of it, beſides a true ſenſe of my Faults, and that obliges me to reſtrain my ſelf at preſent. I believe you will repent in having engaged me to give you this Account, but I cannot the doing what you deſire of me.

To

Numb. 16.

To the Right Honourable the Lords, and to the Gentlemen convened at Weſtminſter.

IT's not unknown to your Lordſhips, *&c.* what ſingular Reports have been publiſhed in Print, as well as otherwiſe, concerning the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*; importing, That the Kingdom had not a fair and uſual Aſſurance of his being born of the Queen: For notwithſtanding there was an extraordinary Council called, *Octob.* 22. 1688. before whom above forty Perſons of Honour, and others in cloſe Attendance about the Queen, appeared and teſtified upon Oath their Knowledge concerning the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*; depoſing to ſuch Circumſtances *before*, *at*, and *after* the Birth of the ſaid Prince, as they knew or conceived material to ſuch an Enquiry; as by the Depoſitions printed and enrolled in the Court of *Chancery* appears more at large. Yet it ſo happened, (for Reaſons not proper to be here inſerted,) that this Expedient fell ſhort of giving a general Satisfaction, People ſtill continuing (or at leaſt pretending to be) divided in their Judgments about this Matter: And ſince your Lordſhips, *&c.* upon Application, are pleaſed to condeſcend to Buſineſs, though of an inferiour nature; it's therefore humbly conceived, that a farther Examination into the Birth of the ſaid Prince of *Wales* will not be unacceptable to your Lordſhips, *&c.* eſpecially if your Lordſhips, *&c.* ſhall pleaſe to conſider the following Reaſons.

1. The Prince of *Orange*, *Octob.* 10. 1688. has avowed himſelf diſſatisfied about the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* to that Degree, that his Highneſs has declared, *The want of ſufficient Evidence in this point one principal Motive of his Expedition into* England; *and likewiſe engaged himſelf to refer the Enquiry into this Affair, and of all things relating to it, to the Hearing of a Parliament.* Decl. p. 12, 13.

2. The King, in his Majesty's Letter to the Convention, dated at St. *Germains*, *Jan.* 1688. conjures the Lords, and the Gentlemen then met, to *make a thorough Examination into the Birth of the Prince of* Wales. Now since both Parties are so pressing to have this Matter debated, by a publick Tryall; since their Honour and Inclinations are so far engaged for the clearing this Point, it's humbly hoped your Lordships, *&c.* after almost two years delay, may not think it improper to have it undertaken.

3. It's presumed your Lordships, *&c.* are not unacquainted how deeply the Deponents to this Affair have been censured, both in Pamphlets and common Discourse; as if they were Confederates to an Imposture of the most flagitious and provoking nature, and contrived to impose an Heir upon these Kingdoms; a Masterpiece of Wickedness which as in their Souls they abhor, so they think it their great Misfortune to lie under the Scandal of so heavy an Imputation: And therefore it's the humble Desire of several of the said Deponents, (not doubting of the Concurrence of the rest,) that the Case may be re-examined, and the Witnesses summoned, before your Lordships, *&c.* that so they may either have opportunity to rescue their Honour and Reputation, (which they value above all worldly Blessings) from those Calumnies which are cast upon them; or, upon Conviction of Insincerity, may undergo the Penalties due to so vile and unexempled a Perjury. And that your Lordships, *&c.* may be the more inclinable to hear them in Vindication of themselves, several of the said Deponents do promise, That their next Testimony shall be, if possible, more plain, particular, and comprehensive than the former; and that they have several Things to offer to your Lordships, *&c.* not unworthy of your Lordships, *&c.* Knowledge, which before were judged unnecessary, and omitted out of Modesty and Reserve.

4. For a farther Motive, your Lordships, *&c.* may please to take notice, That Circumstances of Time are now such, that it cannot with the least pretence of Reason be supposed that the Deponents are either bribed or overawed into a partial Testimony, in favour of the Prince of *Wales*, as was before objected against them by the *Protestant Memorial*, and the

the *Full Answer to the Depositions*, &c. Besides, as your Lordships, *&c.* know, the present Posture of Affairs will afford all imaginable Encouragement for Freedom of Questions, for confronting the Deponents, and producing Counter-Evidences, (if there is any such;) so that the whole Matter may be laid open, and cleared, to the satisfaction of all Persons concerned therein.

5. With all due Submission to your Lordships Judgments, it's humbly conceived, That Dispatch and Expedition in this Case is a very valuable Circumstance: For by this means your Lordships, *&c.* will prevent those Inconveniencies which may happen from Accidents, and Mortality. For notwithstanding the Evidence is enrolled in *Chancery*, and may be inspected at any time hereafter; yet if the number of the Deponents should be lessened, your Lordships, *&c.* cannot enter upon the Merits of the Cause with the same Advantage, nor receive that Satisfaction *viva Voce* which may be now had: Besides, there is reason to apprehend it will be too late to except against the Testimony of the Deponents after their Decease; so that if there have been any unfair Dealing, the Opportunity of Discovering it will be in danger of being lost.

Lastly, Your Lordships, *&c.* may please to consider, Whether in case the Depositions are neither disproved, nor the Prince of *Wales* owned, the Consequence of such a Procedure may not prove unfortunate? For since in strictness of Law there is no greater Proof required for the Legitimacy of a King's Son, than for that of an inferiour Subject, it's to be feared some ill-disposed and litigious Persons will take occasion from hence to question the Birth of private Persons, which possibly they will be apt to say is seldom so well attested as that of the Prince of *Wales*. Which malitious Reflexions, how far they may tend to the creating Disputes, entangling Property, and the dishonour of Families, as your Lordships, *&c.* are the best Judges, so your Quality and Fortunes make it more particularly your Lordships Interest to prevent.

There remains no more to trouble your Lordships, *&c.* with, excepting this humble Request, That provided your Lord-

Lordſhips, *&c.* ſhall think it proper to wave making any farther Enquiry into this Affair, an Expedient may be found out to cover the Deponents from the Aſperſion of Falſe Witneſs; and that the Nation may have leave to believe your Lordſhips, *&c.* are fully ſatisfied with their *former Evidence.*

Octob. 1690.

A true Copy of Part of that Paper which Mr. Aſhton *left in a Friend's Hands: Together with the Letter in which he ſent it encloſed.*

[*The Paper begins with the Speech already publiſhed, immediately after which he adds,*]

THus much is contained in the Paper that I deſign to leave with the Sheriff.

But being ſuddenly to give up my Accounts to the Searcher of all Hearts, I think it a duty incumbent upon me to impart ſome things farther, which neither the Intereſt nor Iniquity of theſe Times will, I conclude, willingly bear the publication of, and therefore not fit to be inſerted in the Sheriffs Paper.

Some time after the Prince of *Orange*'s Arrival here, when it was expected, that, purſuant to his own Declaration, and the King's Letter to the Convention, an exact Search and Enquiry would have been made into the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, there was a Scheme drawn up of that whole Matter, and of the Proofs that were then (and are ſtill) ready to be produced, to prove his Royal Highneſs's Legitimacy; but no publick Examination being ever had, and the Violence of the Times, as well as Intereſt of the preſent Government, not permitting any private Perſon to move in it, thoſe Papers have ever ſince lain by: But it being now thought adviſable by ſome, to have them printed and publiſhed, and (as at firſt they were deſigned) addreſſed at their next Meeting to the Lords and Commons, entreating them to enquire into

into that weighty Affair, and call forth, examine, and protect for who elſe dares to appear) the many Witneſſes to the ſeveral particulars therein offered to be legally proved, *&c.*

I was ordered to carry thoſe Papers to the King my Maſter, for his View, that his Leave and Approbation might go along with the Deſires of his good Subjects here; and they being taken with me, with ſome other Papers of Accounts, *&c.* in a ſmall Trunck, amongſt my Linen, and other private things of my own, and not in the Packet, (my Ld. *Preſton* being altogether a ſtranger to the whole Proceeding,) by this means fell into the hands of our preſent Governours; who though they wiſely waved the producing them as Evidence at my Tryall, yet have I juſt reaſon to believe my greateſt Crimes were contained in them; and I do therefore conclude and hope, that I onely am deſigned to be ſacrificed, who onely knew of them: Nor am I ſurpriſed at it, ſince nothing, I think, can be more prejudicial to ſome Perſons preſent Intereſt, than the expoſing of thoſe Papers to the Publick, which will ſet that pretended Myſtery of Darkneſs in ſo clear a Light, that all Mankind muſt be convinced of his Highneſs's being born of the Queen, and of their Wickedneſs who have malitiouſly and deſignedly aſſerted that innocent Prince to be an Impoſtor. The Love and Compaſſion that I have for my native Countrey, as well as Charity obliges me humbly to implore Almighty God to be merciſull to it, and not to charge this great Sin to the publick Account, and that we may not farther provoke his Juſtice by our wilfully continuing in Errour and miſtake, I beſeech him to put it into the Hearts of the Lords, *&c* at their next Meeting, to examine into that whole Matter, and (if before that time this be publiſhed) to enquire after, call for, and, if poſſible, retrieve thoſe Papers that were taken with me; whereby the Obſtinate will moſt certainly be convinc'd, the Ignorant informed, the Doubtfull confirmed, the Eyes of all opened, and a ſacred, moſt important Truth made apparent to the whole World.———

John Aſhton.

[*This Paper*, &c. *came enclosed to me from Mr.* Ashton, *before his Execution, in the following Letter.*]

Sir,

KNowing your Friendship and Fidelity, to your, and yours onely, as unto safe and secure (though distant) Hands, I recommend the enclosed Papers. What chiefly relates to my self, being the first part, I design to leave with the Sheriff; nor shall I be anxious about his disposal of it: But the following paragraphs, that concern the Prince of *Wales*, and ——— I beg you to preserve as Jewels, and publish them, either part, or all, (chiefly that about the Prince,) whenever time or occasion seems to require. And as to the fitness of either, you may be pleased to consult *A. B.*'s Advice; I doubt not but sooner or later they will all be usefull: and that you may the more value them, I do most solemnly protest, I have been as carefull in what I have asserted for truth, as if I were now at God's dreadfull Tribunal, where I expect suddenly to appear, and by his Mercy hope to hear that ravishing Sound, *Come, ye blessed*, &c.

What relates to Mr. *Elliot*, though I design to declare as much to some, who at his Tryall may give it in Evidence, yet I thought it just to leave a Record of his Innocency under my Hand.

I have nothing to add, but to request your Prayers, That God of his infinite Mercy would support and strengthen me in my last Moments, and take to himself,

Sir, Yours,

Newgate, Jan. 27. 1690.

John Ashton.

N. B. *That Mr.* Ashton, *the next day after this Letter*, viz. Jan. 28. 1691. *in his Speech at the Place of Execution, delivered to the Sheriff, did declare that he knew the Prince of* Wales *to be the Queen's Son, from* unanswerable *and* undoubted *Proofs*; *which being made so publick in print, I think needless here to insert.*

Some

Number 17.

Some Passages taken out of two Observators, published in August, 1682.

Monday, Aug. 21.

Whigg. PRay tell me truly; Is the Dutchess of *York* delivered of a *Daughter*? I ask ye, because I have heard strange Stories about that Business. I have had *Five* to *One* offered me, That her *Royal Highness* was not with Child.

Tory. Right: And if it had pleased God to have given the Duke a Son, the Dutchess had not been with Child; for That was the Knack on't, to prepare the People beforehand, by *one Imposture*, for the entertaining of *another*. There has not been any false Rumour distributed throughout the Nation with more *Industry* than This; and in case of an *Issue Male*, they'd e'en have *Black box'd it off* with a *Pillow*, and an *Imposture*; and an *Eves-dropper* or two perhaps in a *Closet*, or through a *Keyhole*, would have made the whole *History* as currant as *Gospel*.

Wednesday, Aug. 23.

Whigg. The Truth is, 'twas a great Disappointment, and has utterly spoil'd the Wit of a Health to Blew-cap. [*Care*'s] *Courant*, Aug. 18. 1682.

Tory. Prethee tell *Deputy Care*, [the Faction's Journeyman,] That this is no *Disappointment* at all: For we are of a Religion that does not so much as *wish* for any thing, but with a Resignation to the *Divine Providence*. And then it's not the *Wit*, but the *Honesty* of the Health that we value our selves upon; which methinks sounds as well from the Mouth of a *Christian*, and a *Subject*, toward every *Branch* of the *Royal Family*, as your way of *Quaffing* their *Damnation* and *Confusion*. And the *Conceit* is not *spoil'd* neither; for our *Hopes* and

Prayers

Prayers are just the same they were *before*, and so are *your Fears and Apprehensions*. And let me tell ye farther, *Whigg*; the *secret Counsels of Almighty God* in the ordering and disposing of *Princes* and *Empires*, are not a Subject for *Drollery* and *Sport*. There's a *Health spoil'd*, ye crie; but I say, there's a *Sham spoil'd*. For if it had pleased God to give his Royal Highness the Blessing of a *Son*, as it prov'd a Daughter, you were prepared to make a *Perkin* of him. To what end did you take so much pains else, by your Instruments and *Intelligences*, to hammer it into the People's Heads, that the Dutchess of *York* was *Not* with Child; and so in case of a *Son* to represent him as an *Imposture*? Whereas you have now taken off the *Imposture*, in confessing the *Daughter*.

Whigg. Half these words might have serv'd, methinks.

Tory. How you and I differ upon the point! For to my thinking there's not half enough said yet. I would have the Impression of this Cheat sink so far into the *Heads* and *Hearts* of all *Honest Men*, as never to be either *defaced* or *forgotten*; for we must expect that the *same Sham* shall at any time hereafter be Trumpt up again, upon the like Occasion.

Numb. 18.

A Commiſſion from the Prince of Orange, Feb. 5. 1688.

William Henry, by the Grace of God, Prince of *Orange*, &c. To——————Eſq; Greeting. We repoſing eſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your Fidelity, Courage, and Good Conduct, do by theſe preſents conſtitute and appoint you to be Captain-Lieutenant of that Company in the Regiment of Foot, commanded by ———— whereof he himſelf is Captain. You are therefore carefully and diligently to diſcharge the Duty of Captain-Lieutenant, by exerciſing and well diſciplining both the inferiour Officers and Soldiers of that Company. And we do hereby command them to obey you as their Captain-Lieutenant, and you to obſerve and follow ſuch Orders and Directions from time to time, as you ſhall receive from your Collonel, or any other your ſuperior Officer, according to the Rules and Diſcipline of War, in purſuance of the Truſt we hereby repoſe in you.

Given at St. *James*'s the 5th day of *February*, 1688.

W. Prince d' Orange.

By his Highneſs's Command,

Will. Gippſon.

Numb. 19.

A Letter from a Gentleman in Scotland *to his Friend at* London, *who desired a particular account of the Business of* Glenco.

Edinburg 20 Apr. 92.

SIR,

THE Account you desired of that strange and surprizing Massacre of *Glenco*, take as follows.

Mac-jan Mac-donald, Laird of *Glenco*, a Branch of the *Mackdonalds*, one of the greatest Clans (or Tribes) in the North of *Scotland*, came with the most considerable Men of his Clan to Collonel *Hill*, Governour of *Fort-William* at *Inverlochy*, some few days before the expiring of the time for receiving the Indemnity appointed by Proclamation, which, as I take it, was the 1st of *January* last, entreating he would administer to him the Oaths which the foresaid Proclamation required to be taken; that so submitting himself to the Government, he might have its Protection. The Collonel received him with all Expressions of Kindness; nevertheless shifted the administring the Oaths to him, alledging, that by the Proclamation it did not belong to him, but to the Sheriffs, Bailives of Regalities, and Magistrates of Burghs, to administer them. *Mac-jan* complaining that by this Disappointment he might be wronged, the time being now near the expiring, and the Weather so extreme, and the ways so very bad, that it was not possible for him so soon to reach any Sheriff, *&c.* got from Collonel *Hill*, under his Hand, his Protection; and withall he was assured, that no Orders from the Government against him should be put in Execution, untill he were first advertised, and had time allowed him to apply himself to King or Council for his own Safety. But the better to make all sure, (though this might have seemed Security enough for that time,) with all dispatch imaginable he posted to *Inverary*, the chief Town of *Argileshire*, there he found Sir *Colin Campbell* of *Ardkinlis*, Sheriff of that Shire, and craved of him the benefit of the Indemnity, according to the Proclamation, he being willing to perform all the Conditions

ditions required. Sir *Colin* at firſt ſcrupled to admit him to the Oaths, the time which the Proclamation did appoint being elapſed by one day, alledging it would be of no uſe to him then to take them: But *Mac-jan* repreſented that it was not his fault, he having come in time enough to Collonel *Hill*, not doubting but he could have adminiſtred the Oaths to him, and that upon his refuſal he had made ſuch haſte to *Inverary*, that he might have come in time enough, had not the extremity of the Weather hindred him; and even as it was, he was but one day after the time appointed, and that would be very unbecoming the Government to take advantage of a Man's coming late by one day, eſpecially when he had done his utmoſt to have come in time. Upon this, and his threatening to proteſt againſt the Sheriff for the ſeverity of this Uſage, he adminiſtred to him and his Attendants the Oaths, *Mac-jan* depending upon the Indemnity granted to thoſe who ſhould take them; and having ſo done, he went home, and lived quietly and peaceably under the Government, till the day of his Death.

In *January* laſt a Party of the Earl of *Argile*'s Regiment came to that Countrey, the deſign of their coming was then ſuſpected to be to take courſe with thoſe who ſhould ſtand out, and not ſubmit, and take the Oaths. The Gariſon of *Inverlochy* being thronged, and *Glenco* being commodious for quartering, as being near that Gariſon, thoſe Soldiers were ſent thither to quarter; they pretended they came to exact Arrears of Ceſs and Hearth-money, (a Tax never known in *Scotland*, until laid on by the Parliament 1690. after the Parliament of *England* had eaſed themſelves of it;) e'er they entred *Glenco* that Laird, or his Sons, came out to meet them, and asked them if they came as Friends, or as Enemies: The Officers anſwered, as Friends; and gave their Parol of Honour that they would neither do him nor his Concerns any Harm; upon which he welcomed them, promiſing them the beſt Entertainment the place could afford. This he really performed, as all the Soldiers confeſs. He and they lived together in mutual Kindneſs and Friendſhip fifteen days, or thereabout; ſo far was he from fearing any hurt from them. And the very laſt day of his Life he ſpent in keeping Company with the Commander of that Party, Capt. *Campbell* of

Glen-

Glenlyon, playing at Cards with him till 6 or 7 at night, and at their parting mutual Protestations of Kindness were renewed. Some time that very day, but whether before or after their parting, I know not, Capt. *Campbel* had these Orders sent him from Major *Duncanson*, a Copy whereof I here send you.

Ballacholis, *Febr.* 12. 1692.

Sir,

YOU are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels the Mac Donalds *of* Glenco, *and put all to the Sword under seventy. You are to have especial Care, that the old Fox and his Sons do upon no account escape your Hands; you are to secure all the Avennues, that no man escape: This you are to put in execution at 5 a Clock in the Morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger Party; if I do not come to you at 5, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on.* This is by the King's special Command, *for the Good and Safety of the Countrey, that these Miscreants may be cut off, Root and Branch. See that this be put in execution without Feud or Favour, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the King or Government, nor a Man fit to carry Commission in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love your self, I subscribe these with my Hand,*

Robert Duncanson.

For their Majesties Service, to Captain Robert Campbell *of* Glenlyon.

Duncanson had received Orders from Lieutenant Collonel *Hamilton*, which were as follows.

Ballacholis, *Febr.* 12. 1692.

Sir,

PER *Second to the Commander in Chief, and my Collonel's Orders to me, for putting in execution the Service commanded against the Rebels in* Glenco, *wherein you, with the Party of the Earl of* Argyle's *Regiment under your Command are to be concerned: You are therefore forthwith to order your Affairs so, as that*

that the ſeveral Poſts already aſſigned you, be by you and your ſeveral Detachments fallen in Action with, preciſely by 5 a Clock to morrow morning, being Saturday; *at which time I will endeavour the ſame with thoſe appointed for this Regiment for the other places. It will be moſt neceſſary you ſecure thoſe Avennes on the South ſide, that the old Fox, nor none of his Cubs get away. The orders are that none be ſpared, from 70, of the Sword, nor the Government troubled with Priſoners. This is all, untill I ſee you. From*

Your humble Servant,

James Hamilton.

Pleaſe to order a Guard to ſecure the Ferry, and the Boats there; and the Boats muſt be all on this ſide the Ferry, after your Men are over.

For their Majeſties Service, for Major Robert Duncanſon, *of the Earl of* Argyle's *Regiment.*

The Soldiers being diſpoſed five or three in a Houſe, according to the number of the Family they were to aſſaſſinate, had their orders given them ſecretly. They had been all received as Friends by thoſe poor People, who intending no Evil themſelves, little ſuſpected that their Gueſts were deſigned to be their Murtherers. At 5 a Clock in the morning they began their bloody Work, ſurpriſed and butchered 38 perſons, who had kindly received them under their roofs. *Mac jan* himſelf was murthered, and is much bemoaned; he was a ſtately well favoured Man, and of good Courage and Senſe: As alſo the Laird of *Archintrikin*, a Gentleman of more than ordinary Judgment and Underſtanding, who had ſubmitted to the Government, and had Collonel *Hill*'s Protection in his pocket, which he had got three Months before. I cannot without horrour repreſent how that a Boy about eight Years of Age was murthered; he ſeeing what was done to others in the Houſe with him, in a terrible Fright run out of the Houſe, and eſpying Capt. *Campbell*, graſped him about the Legs, crying for Mercy, and offering to be his Servant all his Life. I am informed Capt. *Campbell* inclined to ſpare

 him,

him, but one *Drummond*, an Officer, barbarously run his Dagger through him, whereof he dyed immediately. The rehearsal of several particulars and circumstances of this tragical Story, makes it appear most dolefull, as that *Macjan* was killed as he was drawing on his Breeches, standing before his Bed, and giving orders to his Servants for the good Entertainment of those who murthered him; while he was speaking the words, he was shot through the Head, and fell dead in his Ladies Arms, who through the grief of this, and other bad usages she met with, dyed the next day. It is not to be omitted, that most of those poor People were killed when they were asleep, and none was allowed to pray to God for Mercy. Providence ordered it so, that that Night was most boisterous; so as a party of 400 Men, who should have come to the other end of the *Glen*, and begun the like Work there at the same hour, (intending that the poor Inhabitants should be enclosed, and none of them escape,) could not march that length, untill it was nine a Clock, and this afforded to many an happy opportunity of escaping, and none were killed but those in whose Houses *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*'s Men were quartered, otherwise all the Males under 70 Years of Age, to the number of 200, had been cut off, for that was the order; and it might have easily been executed, especially considering that the Inhabitants had no Arms at that time; for upon the first hearing that the Soldiers were coming to the *Glen*, they had conveyed them all out of the way: For though they relied on the Promises which were made them for their Safety; yet they thought it not improbable that they might be disarmed. I know not whether to impute it to difficulty of distinguishing the difference of a few Years, or to the Fury of the Soldiers, who being once glutted with Blood, stand at nothing, that even some above seventy years of Age were destroyed. They set all the Houses on Fire, drove off all the Cattel to the Garison of *Inverlochy*, *viz.* 900 Cows, 200 Horses, and a great many Sheep and Goats, and there they were divided among the Officers. And how dismal may you imagine the Case of the poor Women and Children was then! It was lamentable, past Expression; their Husbands, and Fathers, and neareſt Relations were forced to flee for their Lives; they themselves

ſelves almoſt ſtript, and nothing left them, and their Houſes being burnt, and not one Houſe nearer than ſix miles; and to get thither they were to paſs over Mountains, and wreaths of Snow, in a vehement Storm, wherein the greateſt part of them periſhed through Hunger and Cold. It fills me with Horror to think of poor ſtript Children, and Women, ſome with Child, and ſome giving Suck, wreſtling againſt a Storm in Mountains, and heaps of Snow, and at length to be overcome, and give over, and fall down, and dye miſerably. You ſee in *Hamilton*'s Order to *Duncanſon*, there's a ſpecial Caution, *that the old Fox, nor none of his Cubs ſhould eſcape*; and in *Duncanſon*'s Order to Captain *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, *that the old Fox, nor none of his Sons eſcape*; but notwithſtanding all this wicked Caution, it pleaſed God that the two young Gentlemen *Mac jan*'s Sons eſcaped: For it happened that the younger of theſe Gentlemen truſted little to the fair Promiſes of *Campbell*, and had a more watchfull Eye over him than his Father or Brother, who ſuffered themſelves by his reiterated Oaths to be deluded into a Belief of his Integrity: He having a ſtrong Impreſſion on his Spirit, that ſome miſchievous Deſign was hidden under *Campbell*'s ſpecious Pretences, it made him, after the reſt were in Bed, remain in a retired Corner, where he had an advantagious proſpect into their Guard. About midnight perceiving ſeveral Soldiers to enter it, this encreaſed his Jealouſie; ſo he went and communicated his Fears to his Brother, who could not for a long time be perſuaded there was any bad Deſign againſt them, and aſſerted, that what he had ſeen was not a doubling of their Guards in order to any ill deſign, but that being in a ſtrange place, and at a diſtance from the Garriſon, they were to ſend out Sentinels far from the Guard, and becauſe of the Extremity of the Weather relieved them often, and that the Men he ſaw could be no more but theſe. Yet he perſiſting to ſay, that they were not ſo ſecure, but that it was fit to acquaint their Father with what he had ſeen, he prevailed with his Brother to riſe, and go with him to his Father, who lay in a room contiguous to that they were in. Though what the younger Son alledged made no great Impreſſion on his Father, yet he allowed his Sons to try what they could diſcover. They well knowing all skulking places there, went and

hid

hid themſelves near to a Centinel's Poſt, where inſtead of one they diſcovered eight or ten Men; this made them more inquiſitive, ſo they crept as near as they could without being diſcovered, ſo near that they could hear one ſay to his Fellows, that *he liked not this Work, and that had he known of it he would have been very unwilling to have come there; but that none, except their Commanders, knew of it till within a quarter of an hour.* The Soldier added, that he was willing to fight againſt the Men of the *Glen*, but it was baſe to murder them. But to all this it was anſwered, *All the blame be on ſuch as gave the Orders; we are free, being bound to obey our Officers.* Upon hearing of theſe words the young Gentlemen retired as quickly and quietly as they cou'd towards the Houſe, to inform their Father of what they had heard; but as they came nigh to it they perceived it ſurrounded, and heard Guns diſcharged, and People ſhrieking; whereupon, being unarm'd, and totally unable to reſcue their Father, they preſerved their own Lives in hopes yet to ſerve their King and Countrey, and ſee Juſtice done upon thoſe Hell-hound, treacherous Murtherers, the Shame of their Countrey, and Diſgrace of Mankind.

I muſt not forget to tell you, that there were two of theſe Officers who had given their Paroll of Honour to *Mac-jan*, who refuſed to be concerned in that brutal Tragedy, for which they were ſent Priſoners to *Glaſcow*, where if they remain not ſtill, I am ſure they were ſome Weeks ago.

Thus, Sir, in obedience to your Commands I have ſent you ſuch account as I could get of that monſtrous and moſt inhumane Maſſacre of the Laird of *Glenco*, and others of his *Clan*. You deſire ſome Proofs for the Truth of the Story; for you ſay there are many in *England* who cannot believe ſuch a thing could be done, and publick Juſtice not executed upon the Ruffians: For they take it for granted, that no ſuch Order could be given by the Government; and you ſay they will never believe it without a downright Demonſtration. Sir, As to the Government I will not meddle with it, or whether theſe Officers who murdered *Glenco*, had ſuch Orders as they pretended from the Government; the Government knows that beſt, and how to vindicate their own Honour

Honour, and puniſh the Murtherers who pretended their Authority, and ſtill ſtand upon it. But as to the Matter of Fact of the Murther of *Glenco*, you may depend upon it, as certain and undeniable: It would be thought as ſtrange a thing in *Scotland* for any Man to doubt of it, as of the Death of my Lord *Dundee*, or with you that the Duke of *Monmouth* loſt his Head. But to Put you out of all doubt, you will e'er long have my Ld. *Argyle*'s Regiment with you in *London*, and there you may ſpeak with *Glenlyon* himſelf, with *Drummond*, and the reſt of the Actors in that diſmal Tragedy; and on my Life there is never a one of them will deny it to you; for they know that it is notoriouſly known all over *Scotland*, and it is an admiration to us that there ſhould be any one in *England* who makes the leaſt doubt of it. Nay, *Glenlyon* is ſo far from denying it, that he brags of it, and juſtifies the Action publickly: He ſaid in the Royal Coffee-houſe in *Edinburgh*, that he would do it again; nay, that he would ſtab any Man in *Scotland*, or in *England*, without asking the cauſe, if the King gave him orders, and that it was every good Subject's duty ſo to do; and I am credibly informed, that *Glenlyon* and the reſt of them have addreſs'd themſelves to the Council for a Reward for their good Service, in deſtroying *Glenco* purſuant to their Orders.

There is enough of this mournfull Subject: If what I have ſaid ſatisfie you not, you may have what Proof, and in what manner ye pleaſe to ask it.

Sir,

Your humble Servant.

N. B. That the Gentleman to whom this Letter was ſent, did, on *Thurſday June* 30. 1692. when the Ld. *Argyle's* Regiment was quartered at *Branford*, go thither, and had this Story of the Maſſacre of *Glenco* from the very Men were the Actors in it: *Glenlyon* and *Drummond* were both there. The Highlander who told him the Story, expreſſing the Guilt which was viſible in *Glenlyon*, ſaid, Glenco *hangs about* Glenlyon *Night and Day, and you may ſee him in his Face.* I am told likewiſe that Sr. *John Lawder* refuſed to accept of the Place of Ld. Advocate of *Scotland*, unleſs he might have liberty to proſecute *Glenlyon*, and the reſt of the Murtherers of *Glenco*, which not being granted, *James Stuart* (who was forfeited for Treaſon by K. *C.* 2. and ſince Knighted by K. *W.*) has now the Place.

Numb. 20.

King James's *Letter*, May 3. 1686. *for Reverſing two Outlawries, with the Earl of* Clarendon's *Proceeding thereupon.*

Signed James Rex.

RIght Truſty, and Right Well beloved Couſin and Counſellour, We greet you well. Whereas Our Right Truſty and Well beloved Coſins, *Jennico* Viſcount *Gormanſtowne*, and *James* Viſcount *Ikerin*, have by their humble Petition repreſented unto Us, that their Anceſtors were indicted and outlawed in the Rebellion in that Our Kingdom, begun in or about the Year 1641. and have humbly prayed Us that they might be admitted to ſue out Writs of Error for reverſing the ſaid Outlawries, and the Attainders thereupon; We have thought fit, upon Conſideration of the Matter, to gratifie them in their humble Requeſts: And accordingly Our Will and Pleaſure is, and We do hereby direct and require you upon receipt of theſe our Letters, forthwith to give orders to our Chancellor of that our Kingdom, to grant unto the ſaid Viſcount *Gormanſtowne*, and Viſcount *Ikerin*, Writs of Errour in order to Reverſe the ſaid Outlawries and Attainders, and alſo to direct our Attorney General of our ſaid Kingdom for the time being, to admit them to have Copies of the ſaid ſeveral Indictments and Outlawries; and to require our Judges of our Court of King's Bench there, and our ſaid Attorney, to admit them the ſaid Viſcount *Gormanſtowne*, and Viſcount *Ikerin*, to reverſe the ſaid Outlawries, upon Errors appearing in the Records of the ſame, and the Attainders thereupon, any Law, Statute, Cuſtome, or Order to the contrary notwithſtanding: And for ſo doing this ſhall be as well unto you, as unto all other our Officers and Miniſters there whom it may concern, a ſufficient Warrant: And ſo we bid you heartily farewell.

Given

Given at Our Court at *Whitehall*, the third day of *May* 1686. in the ſecond Year of our Reign,

By His Majeſty's Command,

Entred at the Signet-Office the 20th of *May*, 1686.

Sunderland, P.

John Gauntlett.

To Our Right Truſty, and Right Well beloved Coſin and Counſellor, Henry *Earl of* Clarendon, *Our Lieutenent General, and general Governour of Our Kingdom of* Ireland, *and to Our chief Governour there for the time being.*

The Lord Lieutenant's Order to the Attorney and Sollicitor General, touching the Reverſion of the Outlawries.

Clarendon.

WE ſend you herewith a Copy of his Majeſty's Letters unto Us, in behalf of the Right Honorable *Jennico* Viſcount *Gormanſtowne*, and *James* Viſcount *Ikerin*, bearing date the 3d of *May* laſt, concerning their Anceſtors being indicted and outlawed in the Year 1641. and we refer it unto you, calling to your Aſſiſtance the reſt of his Majeſty's Counſel, learned in the Laws of this Kingdom, to conſider the Matter, and report to Us what is fit to be done therein for the relief of the Petitioners.

Given at his Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, the 12th day of *June*, 1686.

Paul Rycaut.

To Our Truſty and well beloved his Majeſty's Attorney and Sollicitor general of this Kingdom.

The

The Attourney and Sollicitor General, and the King's Counſel at Law, their Report touching the Outlawries.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

IN obedience to your Excellency's Order, bearing date the 12th day of this Inſtant *June*, we have conſidered of his Majeſty's Letters thereunto annexed, in favor of the Right Honorable *Jennico* Ld. Viſcount *Gormanſtowne*, and *James* Ld. Viſcount *Ikerin*, concerning the Reverſion of the Outlawries againſt their Anceſtors; and having adviſed with the reſt of his Majeſty's Counſel at Law in this Kingdom, we humbly offer to your Excellency's Conſideration, That ſome time after his late Majeſty's happy Reſtauration we find ſeveral Applications were made for the allowing of Writs of Error to be iſſued, in order to the Reverſion of Outlawries in High Treaſon, and Attainders upon Account of the late Rebellion; which being referred to his Majeſty's then Judges in this Kingdom, there were ſeveral Debates then had before them, whether ſuch Outlawries could be reverſed, by reaſon of the Statute made in the 27th Year of Queen *Elizabeth* in this Kingdom, for the Attainder of *James Euſtace* late Viſcount *Baltinglaſs*, and others therein mentioned, who had been lawfully and by due courſe of Law outlawed, and attainted of Treaſon; and the Statute confirms thoſe Outlawries and Attainders which were paſt, any Error, Inſufficiency, or other Defect in form or Matter in them to the contrary notwithſtanding, and farther enacts for the time to come, that every offender thereafter, being lawfully convict of Treaſon by Verdict or Proceſs of Outlawry, according to the due courſe of the Common Laws or Statutes of this Realm, ſhould forfeit all his Lands of any Eſtate of Inheritance; and that every ſuch Attainder, according to the courſe of the common Laws and Statutes of this Realm, ſhould be of the ſame force as if it had been by Act of Parliament; and by reaſon alſo that ſince the making of that Statute they did not find that any Out-

Outlawry or Attainder for Treaſon in this Kingdom had been reverſed by Writ of Error, eſpecially after the death of the Party outlawed, and his Lands granted from the Crown to others. Whereupon the ſaid Judges having then heard Counſel on both ſides, did not come to any Reſolution, or was any thing farther done upon thoſe Applications. We do therefore offer to your Excellencies Conſideration, that many of his Majeſty's Subjects in *England*, and in this Kingdom, have at this time in their Poſſeſſion the Lands of divers old Proprietors, who in the Year 1641. and after, were outlawed for Treaſon; which Lands have been granted to them by Letters Patents upon the late Settlement of this Kingdom; ſome of whoſe Titles may be weakened or prejudiced, as we humbly conceive, by the Reverſal of ſuch Outlawries; and ſome parts of theſe two Lords Eſtates are now (as appears by the Petition of Captain *Daniel Gahan*, Sir *William Petty*, and *Samuel Green* Eſq; which your Excellency hath referred unto us,) in their poſſeſſions, who hold the ſame by Letters Patents from his Majeſty, and have thereupon humbly Petitioned your Excellency to take their Caſe into your Excellency's Conſideration. That as to ſuch Lands as theſe two Lords, or the Heirs of ſuch other perſons who have been ſo outlawed are in poſſeſſion of, or have been reſtored unto by virtue of the late Acts of Settlement, they are not, as we conceive, diſabled, or any ways hindred by ſuch Outlawries from enjoying the ſame. Neither do we conceive that there would be any Inconvenience in reſtoring theſe two noble Lords, who do well deſerve his Majeſty's Grace and Favour, to their Blood and Honours, with a *Proviſo* that they ſhould not thereby be entituled to any Lands out of their Poſſeſſion, which have been granted by Letters Patents to others, as might be done by Act of Parliament; but upon the reverſal of any Outlawries by Writs of Error, there can be no reſtriction in the Judgment, which muſt by Law be general; that they ſhall be reſtored to whatſoever they loſt by reaſon of ſuch Outlawries. But whether upon the whole Matter your Excellency will think fit to iſſue ſuch Warrants forthwith, in order to the reverſal of the ſaid Outlawries, as by his Majeſty's ſaid Letters are directed, on

behalf the ſaid Lords Viſcounts *Gormanſtowne* and *Ikerin*, or will forbear the ſame till his Majeſty's Pleaſure herein ſhall be farther known, is humbly ſubmitted to your Excellency's Conſideration.

William Domvile.

June 29. 1686. *Jo. Temple.*

The Extract of my Ld. Clarendon's *Letter to the E. of* Sunderland, July 6. 1686. *of ſo much as relates to the Matter of the Outlawries.*

My Lord,

AS ſoon as I had the King's Letters permitting the Lords *Gormanſtowne* and *Ikerin* to reverſe the Outlawries of their Anceſtors, I acquainted my Lord Chancellour and Mr. Attorney therewith: But the Noiſe of this matter was come before the Letter; for ſome time before Caveats were entered againſt the granting any ſuch Writs of Reverſal by three Perſons, who by virtue of the Acts of Settlement are in Poſſeſſion of ſome Lands, the ancient propriety of thoſe Lords. I referred the Matter to Mr. Attourney, and Mr. Sollicitour, (for I could doe no leſs,) requiring them to call to their Aſſiſtence the reſt of the King's learned Counſel, ſeveral of whom are *Roman* Catholicks, and to report their opinions to me; which they have done; and I herewith tranſmit their Report to your Lordſhip, which I beſeech you to lay before his Majeſty; it is a thing of very great Conſequence, and deſerves the moſt ſerious Conſideration.———

Numb.

Numb. 21.

King James *his Speech to the Lord Mayor*, &c. *upon his quitting of* Dublin, *ſoon after the Action at the* Boyne, *the* 2d *of* July, 1690.

Gentlemen,

I Find all things at preſent run againſt Me. In *England* I had an Army conſiſting of Men ſtout and brave enough, which would have fought; but they proved falſe, and deſerted me: Here I had an Army that was loyal enough, but that they wanted true Courage to ſtand by me at the critical Minute.

Gentlemen, I am now a ſecond time neceſsitated to provide for my own Safety; and ſeeing I am now no longer able to to protect you, and the reſt of my good Subjects, the Inhabitants of this City, I adviſe you all to make the beſt terms you can for your ſelves, and likewiſe for my menial Servants, in regard that I ſhall now have no occaſion to keep ſuch a Court as I have done. I deſire you all to be kind to the Proteſtant Inhabitants, and not to injure them or this City; for though I at preſent quit it, yet I do not quit my Intereſt in it.

Numb. 22.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, the humble Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of the City and Liberty of Dublin, *in behalf of themſelves, and others the Proteſtant Freemen and Inhabitants thereof.*

THus long, *great Sir*, our unparallel'd late Deliverance, wrought by the hand of God, the firſt Mover, the principal Author of all our Good, hath hitherto moſt juſtly employed all the Faculties of our Souls in the profound Contemplation

plation of his myſterious and unbounded Providence, receiving from us the ſlender Reward, but neceſſary Sacrifice of our hearty Praiſe and Thanks; but now to you, *great Sir*, the next recollected Thought with equal Juſtice does belong: To you therefore, *dread Sir*, the Second Cauſe, our Faith's *Defender*, the wonderful *Reſtorer* of our captiv'd Liberties; in greateſt Humility, but with unlimited Zeal, and joyfull Hearts, full of ſincere Affection, we yield our utmoſt and unfeigned Thanks, the onely thing valuable which our Enemies left us wherewithal to Sacrifice, and of which their Malice could not rob us. We cannot but with Horrour ſtand amazed, when we recount our never to be forgotten Sufferings, our frequent cauſeleſs Impriſonments, the Plundering our Goods, the Confiſcation of our Eſtates, the innumerable Oppreſſions, the illegal Exactions, the tyrannous Hatred of our Perſons; and, in a word, the unchriſtian behaviour in all the Actions of our Enemies infinitely ſurpaſſing an *Egyptian* Servitude, when *Baal*'s Prieſts contented not themſelves with their Idolatry alone to ~~profligate~~ *pollute* our Altars, but in proſecution of their profane and ungodly Malice, contrived the leading us captive to our Churches, and each Anceſtor's Tomb became our reſpective Couches; then it proved literally true that our Liberties were offered a *Romiſh* Sacrifice on our own Altars. Thus far Almighty God permitted them: Then it was that our Enemies grew ripe for divine Vengeance; then it was that you, *mighty Sir*, ſtept in, and by your own victorious Arm, to the hazard of your Royal Perſon, reſcued us from the hands of our Enemies; then, and not till then, did Arbitrary Power, Popery, and Slavery, (terms almoſt convert ble,) receive their period. Wherefore to you, *dread Sir*, our only King, our Lives, Liberties, Goods and Eſtates, we humbly offer, and at your Royal Feet, *great Sir*, we come prepared ready to lay them down for the defence of your Majeſties Royal Perſon, for the ſuppreſſion of Popery, for the maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion, and the ſupport of your Majeſty's undoubted Right to theſe your Kingdoms and Dominions. In teſtimony whereof we have cauſed the common Seal of the ſaid City to be hereunto affixed, this Ninth day of *July*, in the Second Year of your Majeſty's Reign.

Numb.

Numb. 23.

His Majeſty's Protection to the Inhabitants of Belfaſt, June 3. 1689.

James R.

WHereas ſeveral Merchants, and other our Subjects, late Inhabitants of our Town of *Belfaſt*, have quitted their reſpective Homes, either by the Inſtigation of Perſons ill affected to us, or out of fear, and taking up of Arms, or ſeduced by ſly and falſe Inſinuations from the Duty and natural Allegiance they owe Us, by means whereof they are very much impoveriſhed in their Fortunes, and they and their whole Families reduced to great Wants in ſtrange places, to the Depopulation of our ſaid Town, and leſſening of Trade and Commerce therein. Now foraſmuch as we have received Information that the ſaid Perſons are by woful Experience convinced, that they have been thus miſled and frighted from their Duty by Perſons for the moſt part deſperate in their Fortunes, or diſaffected unto Us and our Government, and that they do heartily repent of their having been ſo impoſed upon, and do reſolve to return again to their Habitations, Trade and Commerce, ſo as they may receive our Aſſurance of Pardon for the time paſt, and Protection for the time to come: And We being willing and reſolved to reclaim our Subjects by Mercy, and to ſhew that We rather delight to forgive than puniſh, do hereby promiſe to give a full, general, and free Pardon and Indemnity for the Crime of High Treaſon, to all ſuch Perſon or Perſons as have for the ſpace of twelve Months laſt paſt inhabited Our ſaid Town of *Belfaſt*, and ſhall within the ſpace of forty days return to their Dwellings and Habitations there; as alſo full Pardon and Indemnity of all Pains and Forfeitures which the ſaid Parties, or any of them might have incurred, or be ſubject or liable to upon account of having committed the ſaid Crime of High Treaſon, and that the ſaid perſons, and every of them may

peaceably and quietly enjoy their Eſtates, Houſes, Stocks, Goods, Chattels, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, within the ſaid Town of *Belfaſt*, or elſewhere, they upon their arrival ſeverally taking the uſual Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to Us, before the Sovereign, or other chief Magiſtrate for the time being of our ſaid Town of *Belfaſt*. And of this Our Will and Pleaſure, thus ſignified in behalf of Our ſaid Subjects, late Inhabitants of *Belfaſt*, We hereby will and require all our Officers, both Civil and Military, to take notice; and that they preſume not to impriſon, indict, or moleſt any perſon or perſons, either in their Perſons, or Goods, who upon this our Indulgence can claim the benefit of this our free Grace and Favour.

Given at our Court at *Dublin* Caſtle, the third day of *June*, 1689. and in the Fifth Year of our Reign.

By his Majeſty's Command,

Melfort.

Memorandum, *That the Oath of Fidelity mentioned in this Protection was not exacted, as it is told in this Narrative; but the Proteſtants were received into Protection without any Oath at all required from them.*

Numb. 24.

The Lord Melfort's *Letter to Mr.* Pottinger, *Sovereign of* Belfaſt, July 9. 1689.

Dublin Caſtle, *July* 9. 1689.

Sir,

IN Anſwer to yours of the 3d Inſtant, I can onely tell you that the neceſſary Orders are given for the Subſiſtence of the Gariſon in that place, without being a Burthen to the People: That for ſuch of the Inhabitants as have been deluded or frightned to quit their Dwellings in that Town, and fly

fly into *Scotland*, where there appears any moral impoſſibility of complying with the King's gratious Intentions to them, without any Act of their own, and that they have not taken part with any in Rebellion againſt his Majeſty, the King will not ſtint his Mercy to any narrow time; his Inclination leading him rather to reclaim his People by indulgent than ſevere or rigid Courſes. I have ordered the Names of ſuch as were Inhabitants there, and entituled to the Benefit of the King's Promiſe of Pardon, to be brought me, in order to be ſtruck out of the Liſt of Perſons to be attainted. I am,

Sir,

Your humble Servant,

Melfort.

For his Majeſty's ſpecial Service, *to* Thomas Pottinger, *Eſq*; *Sovereign of* Belfaſt, *at* Belfaſt.

Numb. 25.

Coll. Hill's *Letter to Mr.* Pottinger, *Sovereign of* Belfaſt, May 1689.

Sir,

I Did not intend that Buſineſs of the Sheriff ſhould have been carried ſo far; for it will draw all the *O Neals* upon my back and yours; and if he ſhould be ſent for, it may be a trouble to ſome to go up againſt him, and will breed ill Blood in his Friends: And ſince Coll. *Maxwell* hath ſo well redreſſed Matters already, it will be needleſs; and no other order is needfull more than a Letter to him, owning his Care in this matter, and deſiring the continuance thereof; but by all means, if you can, ſtop his being ſent for, otherwiſe it may meet you and me one time or other to our Prejudice, by him or his Friends. Here are ſix Companies of Coll. *Cormuck O Neals*

O Neal's Regiment quartered here, and a Troop of Dragoons in *Malone*, and the *Fall*; but they are kept to ſtrickt Diſcipline. You will, I doubt not, take care to make you and me eaſie in this matter of the Sheriff. Shew no body this Letter, but you may the other. I am

Your affectionate Servant,

J. H.

For Mr. Thomas Pottinger, *Sovereign of* Belfaſt, *at his Lodging at the Boot near St.* Mary Abby *in* Dublin.

Numb. 26.

To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, the humble Addreſs of the Clergy of the Church of Ireland *now in* Ulſter.

June 1690.

Great Sir,

WE your Majeſties loyal Subjects, out of the deepeſt Senſe of the Bleſſing of this day, with moſt joyful Hearts congratulate your Majeſty's ſafe Landing in this Kingdom: And as we muſt always praiſe God for the Wonders he hath already wrought by your Majeſty's Hand; ſo we cannot but admire and applaud your remarkable Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and the Peace of theſe Kingdoms. We owe all imaginable Thanks to God, and Acknowledgment to your Majeſty, for the Calm and Safety we have enjoyed by the Succeſs of your Arms, under the happy and wiſe management of his Grace the Duke of *Schonberg*: And we do not doubt but God will hear the Prayers of his Church, and crown your Majeſties Arms with ſuch Succeſs and Victory, that theſe happy beginnings of our Joy may terminate in a full Eſtabliſhment of our Religion, and our Peace, and with laſting Honors to your Majeſty. May Heaven bleſs and preſerve your Majeſty in ſuch Glorious Undertakings, give Strength and Proſperity to ſuch generous Deſigns, that all your

your Enemies may flee before you, that your Subjects may rejoice in your eaſie Victory, and that all the World may admire and honour you. Give us leave, great Sir, after the moſt humble and gratefull manner, to offer our ſelves to your Majeſty, and to give all aſſurance of a ſteady Loyalty and Duty to your Majeſty, of our Reſolution to promote and advance your Service and Intereſt to the utmoſt of our Power; and that we will always, with the moſt hearty Importunity, pray that Heaven may protect your Royal Perſon from all Dangers, that we may long enjoy the Bleſſings of your Government and Victories: And that after a long and peacefull Reign here, God may change your Lawrels into a Crown of Glory.

FINIS.

THE

INDEX.

Page 2.
THE Diviſion of this Anſwer into the *Principles* and *Matters of Fact* of the Author.
Firſt for his Principles.
They are hard to be Collected, becauſe they are not clearly aſſerted, nor ſet down in any Method.
His Principles are the old Exploded Common wealth and Rebellious Principles, which he indeavours to conceal.
4. He derives the *Eccleſiaſtical Authority* from the People.
5. His Interpretation of that Law which declares it not to be Lawful upon any pretence to take Arms againſt the King, *&c.*
7. The ſeveral Schemes of Government which are ſet up.
8. The Caſe of one Prince Interpoſing betwixt another Prince and his Subjects.
Page 9. This Author's Defence of his Principles from *Reaſon.*
10. I. Reaſon of a King deſigning to deſtroy his *whole* People.
Ibid. II. A *part* of his People.
11. III. Invading their *Property.*
12. IV. To *diſarm* them.
13. The Author's Rule for *Abdication* conſidered.
14. V. Of Diſſolving *Oaths* of *Allegiance.*
16. VI. The Queſtion, *Who ſhall be judge?*
19. Apply'd to *Parliaments* and *States.*
20. Compared with *Kings.*

Page 20. Of Jealouſies and Fears.
21. Inſtances in the *French League.*
22. Prince of *Wales.*
24. Earl of *Eſſex.*
26. King *Charles* I. Biſhop *Laud.*
27. *Moſes.*
28. Of Evils not { Tolerable. / Univerſal.
30. A Paſſage our Author quotes out of *Faulkner*, and miſapplies.
31. The Evils of { Tyranny / Civil War } compar'd.
33. Our Authors Remedy for Tyranny, *to kill half the Nation.*
36. *Religion* the worſt pretence for *Rebellion*
45. VII. A King deſigning to deſtroy our *Religion.*
48. Some *Inſtances* of our Author's manner of *Argumentation.*
50. This Author's defence of his Principles from *Authority.* From *Scriptures.*
52. Diſproved from Scripture. 1. The *Jews* in *Egypt.*
53. 2. In *Babylon.* 3. Under the *Romans.*
54. 4. Under *Ahaſuerus.* 5. The *Gibeonites.* 6. Our Saviour *Chriſt.* Primitive Chriſtians.
55. From { *Jovian.*
58. *Homilies.*
63. *Grotius.*
65. *Hammond.*
66. *Hicks.*
68. *Faulkner.*
71. The Proteſtants under Q. *Mary.*
72. *Matters of Fact* of our Author. The principal Matter of Fact.
73. *Viz.* Who were the Aggreſſors in the Revolution in *Ireland*, 1688. ſhewn in many notorious and undeniable Inſtances.
95. Of Lord *Tyrconnel*'s haſte to run the Nation into Blood.
Ibid. The *Proteſtants* in *Ireland* worſe treated by K. *W*'s Army than by K. *J*'s.

99. Cha-

Page 99. Character of K. *J.* from { This Author, / Lord *Dunbar*.
Ibid. 99. K. *J.* opposed the *Act of Attainder*, and the *Repeal of the Acts of Settlement.*
Ibid. He encouraged the Protestant Lords to speak against them in Parliament.
105. This Author Guilty of Treason against K. *J.* while under his Protection and Favour.
108. The great Hypocrisie of the *Irish Protestant* Clergy, in praying for K. *J.* and the P. of *W.*
113. This Author formerly a zealous Man for *Passive Obedience*, even in the beginning of this Revolution.
117. Dr. *Tillotson's* Extent of Loyalty in his Sermon, 2 *Apr.* 80. before K. *Charles* II.
118. And 5 *Nov.* 78. before the *House of Commons.*
123. The behaviour of the *Clergy* in taking the *Oaths.*
Ibid. Of the *Deprived* Clergy.
124. Roman Catholick Loyalty.
Particularly of the *Irish.*
126. Of the *Roman* Catholicks of *England.*
127. *Non-Jurors* of the Church of *England.*
Ibid. Presbyterian Loyalty.
128. Popish Principles which are embraced.
129. Church of *England* vindicated.
130. Matters of Fact set down by this Author at *Random.*
132. By *Inuendo's*, wherein his groundless and unjust Reflection upon the E. of *Clarendon.*
134. *Incredible* Matters of Fact, wherein is told the Story of Mr. *Bell.*
139. *Contradictory* Matters of Fact.
Especially with Relation to King *James*, whom he does not treat with common Decency, giving him the Lye, *&c.*
141. The Case of Mr. *Brown* and Sir *Thomas Southwell.*
145. Of K. *J.* keeping his Protections.
152. The Massacre of the Laird of *Glen-coe*, with others of his *Clan.*
153. An abominable Misrepresentation of this Author, in relation to the *Protestants* in the County of *Down.*

Page 161. The breach of Articles charged upon K. *J.* upon the Surrender of the Fort of *Culmore*, refuted. Retorted in the Notorious Breach of the Articles upon the Surrender of *Carick fergus*, and of *Drogheda.*

162. Of *Cork* and *Limerick*, and the cruel Usage of the Prisoners.

166. Of K. *J*'s letting the English Fleet decay, with the Author's Recantation considered.

173. The Insincerity of this Author in Quoting K. *J*'s Answer to the Petition of some Lords for a Parliament, 17 *Novemb.* 88.

175. And in some Quotations out of *Grotius.*

176. He confesses that the *Irish Papists* were not the *Aggressors* in the late Revolution; and gives Reasons why they were not so.

178. This Author wounds the present Government in the Person of King *James* and the Papists.

186. He renders the King's *Prerogative* hateful to the People, and inclines them to a *Common-wealth.*

187. The Authors Conclusion, and Protestation of his Sincerity.

189. In representing King *James* to be worse than the *French King.*

194. Or the *Great Turk*; and, according to the *Dublin* Address, than *Pharaoh*, or the *Devil.*

APPENDIX.

Numb. 1.
King *James*'s Speech to both Houses of Parliament in *Ireland*, 10 *May*, 1689. with their Address to his Majesty.

2. Dr. *Gorge*, Secretary to General *Schomberg* in *Ireland*, his long Letter *Apr.* or *May*, 90. relating to the Affairs then in *Ireland.*

3. Mr. *Osborn*'s Letter to Lard *Massareen*, 9. Mar. 88.

4. Three Proclamations in *Ireland*, 26 Sept. 90.

5. Procla-

Numb. 5. Proclamation, 7 March 88. of the Lord Deputy of *Ireland* and Council.
6. King *William's* Declaration in *Ireland*, 7th of July 90: and Proclamation 31 July 90.
7. Resolution of the Judges of *Ireland* to the Queries of the Grand Jury of *Dublin* 21 Novemb. 90.
8. Two Speeches of the Lord Bishop of *Meath*; one to King *James*, the other to King *William*.
9. The Sea-mens Address to King *James*.
10. Sir *Peter Pett's* Speech to King *James*.
11. A short Abstract of Mr. *Pepy's* Account of the Navy.
12. A List of the Ships that have been lost, or damaged since the Year 1688. to the 13th of Nov. 1691.
13. The Oath of Allegiance given by the Irish Officers to the Protestants in *Cork*, *Limerick*, and some of their Garrisons when K. *J.* drew out the Souldiers from these Garrisons into the Field.
14. Dr *Tillotson's* Letter to the Lord *Russel*.
15. Earl of *Sunderland's* Letter 23 March 89.
16. Reasons tendered to the Parliament, Octob. 90. to examine into the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, with Mr. *Ashton's* Paper.
17. Some Passages taken out of two Observators, of August, 1682.
18. A Commission from the Prince of *Orange*.
19. A short Account of the Bloody Massacre of the Laird of *Glencoe*, and others of his *Clan* in *Scotland*, the 13th of Feb. 1692.
20. K. *James's* Letter 3 May 86. for Reversing two Outlawries, with the Earl of *Clarendon's* Proceedings thereupon.
21. King *James's* Speech to the Lord Mayor, *&c.* upon his quitting of *Dublin*, soon after the Action at the *Boyne*, July 2. 1690.
22. The Address of the Lord Mayor, *&c.* of *Dublin*, to K. *W.* 9 July, 1690
23. K. *J's* Protection to the inhabitants of *Belfast*, 3 June, 1689.

24. Lord *Melfort*'s Letter to Mr. *Pottinger*, Sovereign of *Belfaſt*, 9 July, 1689.
25. Colonel *Hill*'s Letter to Mr. *Pottinger*, Sovereign of *Belfaſt*, May, 1689.
26. The Addreſs of the *Proteſtant* Clergy of *Ulſter* to King *William* when he landed in *Ireland*, June 1690.

The End of the INDEX.